

APHORISMES CIVILL AND MILITARIE:

*Amplified with Authorities, and exemplified with
Historie, out of the first Quarterne
of Fr. Guicciardine.*

LIP. DE GVICCIARD.

Prudens peritusque Scriptor, & qui tales Lectores suos facit.

BASIL REX, DE HISTOR.

*Per historias veteres ire ne recusa. Ibi enim reperies sine labore, quæ
alii cum labore collegerunt, atque illinc hauries, & bonorum vir-
tutes, & improborum vitia: vitæ humane varias mutationes, &
rerum in ea conuersiones: mundi huius instabilitatem, & imperio-
rum instabiles casus: Et ut verbo complectar, malorum facino-
rum poenas, & bonorum præmia: quorum illa fugies, ne in diuinæ
iustitiæ manus incidas; hæc amplectèris, ut præmijs quæ ea comi-
tantur potiaris.*

The second Edition.



L O N D O N,

Printed by M. Flesher for Robert Allot, at the signe of the
Blacke Beare in Pauls Churchyard.

1 6 2 9.

APHORISMS CIVIL AND MILITARY

By JOHN WILKES, Esq;
Author of the *Letters*
and *Speeches* in the
House of Commons.

THE SECOND EDITION, CORRECTED.
LONDON, Printed by J. DODD, in Pall-mall.
MDCCLXXV.



Printed by J. DODD, in Pall-mall.
LONDON, Printed by J. DODD, in Pall-mall.
MDCCLXXV.



TO THE HIGH AND MIGHTIE.

CHARLES PRINCE OF
GREAT BRITANNIE, &c.

My gracious Ld. and M^r.

SIR,



ALl eies are vpon you. Those
your sweet graces of nature,
and ingenuous dispositions to
goodnesse, makes men looke
vpon your worthy Brother in
your princely selfe; holding you the true inhe-
ritor of his vertues as of his fortunes, and ma-
king full account that he had no oddes of you
but in yeares. If you will not haue them fall
short in their reckoning, this *Imprimis* of your
hopefull beginnings, must be continued with
many *Items* of vertuous proceedings, and clo-
sed vp with a *Summa-totalis* of all princely wor-
thinesse: So shall you like a great and high
Steward (as you are) perfect the account you
are to make, to your King and to your Coun-
trei. Hereunto Example and Precept will en-

able you. Examples you may haue in your owne Family, and (which few Princes haue had) in your owne time. Your matchlesse Brother for these seuen yeares to come, may take you by the hand, and lead you in the faire apprenticeship of all honour and vertue: and then your royall Father may for many and many yeares (we hope and pray) be a liuing and liuely Mirrour vnto you of Piety, Wisdom, Iustice, Clemency, and all other regall endowments fit for the high calling to which you are borne. As for Precepts, you may haue them from those that haue worthily that place of seruice about you, besides others you shall meet with in approued Authors, whereof I humbly tender you this Epitome. It was your Brothers, and sues among other his Seruants for entertainment: hoping vnder the Impression of his worthy memorie, and Stamp of your gracious fauor to passe currant.

Your Highnesse

humblest seruant

DALLINGTON.

TO THE READER.



Neuer yet durst hazard my short
 Scantling of knowledge, to be tryed
 by the iust Sandart of your Iudge-
 ment, nor put those few graines of
 mine vpon the indifferent Scales of
 your Censure, as being conscions to
 my selfe how much they are wanting,
 both in weight and measure. Please
 you but remember how I long since
 disclaimed the publication of the View of France, and Suruay
 of Tuscany, (though I could not disvllow the things themselues.)
 it will make you a faire way to the truth of this my ingenuous
 protestation. But now I must confesse, the desire I haue to make
 him liue still in your memories, (in whose great hopes while he
 breathed all gentle spirits liued,) hath dulled my sense against
 those tender impressions, and violent driuen me, either vpon the
 rock of your iust reproofe, or into the armes of your good fauour;
 I know not yet whether. Be mine the hazard, so his be the ho-
 nour: by whose gracious influence euery little starre in that good-
 ly Sphere of his subalterne gouernement, moued in their proper
 Orbe to do him seruice: and among these my selfe, the vnablest
 of many in that Academy (for so was his family) had this espec-
 all employment, for his proper vse; which he pleased fauourably
 to entertaine, and often to read ouer. Whose all-promising ver-
 tues and all-deserued praises while you shall sing, I will sigh the
 losse of all in sorrowfull silence, and offer you these his papers in
 his memory. The Argument is generall, wherein the publicke
 Minister may meete with his experience, the Souldier with his
 practise, the Scholler with his reading: and euery of these in
 his owne Element parallel both the Aphorisme, Example, and
 Authorities. The Method is not vulgar, for though bookes of
 Ciuill discourse be full of axiomes, Philosophers of proofes, and
 Historians of instances; yet shall ye hardly meete them all com-
 bined in one complement. Out of their legions of Authorities I haue
 drawne out these Maniples, because our Masters in the art of

To the Reader.

warre doe teach vs, that these are more readie for Use, vpon all sodaine occasion of seruice. I haue enter-laced them with variety of Language, to procure his better appetite for whom they were written. I was the more plentiful in Authorities, because, to reade many and great volumes, few young men haue the Will, no Prince hath the leisure. It is true, many of them may serue to seuerall Aphorismes, so doth the workmans Last for seuerall mens wearing, and yet neither the shooe is cut, or foote pinched : Nor are they so loose but that with Lipsius Soder you may cymment them together, and make them con-center in the maïne proposition. To the Aphorismes I haue giuen some farce of illustration, which falls not necessarily in the nature of the conclusion, but this I did of purpose, to giue them better relish in the dainty palate of a Prince, and to draw him on with the variety of his viands. Some of them likewise compared together may seeme one and the same, yet is not their co-incidence so close, but that the more diligent reader may obserue a difference, either in the Roote or in the Branches, as also in the Authorities and Examples. In the Examples I haue bound my selfe to the truth of the history, but vsed my liberty for the phrase and manner of relation : because my Authors periods are ouerlong, to suite with that perspicuity which I intended. What else is to be obserued, your iudgement may discern, whereunto I subscribe : and your fauour accept, whereupon I rely.

R. DALLINGTON.

APHO.



APHORISMES, CIVIL AND MILITA- RIE, AMPLIFIED WITH AUTHORITIES, AND EXEM- plified with Historie, out of the first Quarterne of Fra. Guicciardine.

APHORISME I.



L(1) naturall bodies, the longer they subsist in perfect health, the more dangerous is the disease when it commeth, and the longer in curing; as having none of those humours spent, which by distemper giue foment and force to the approaching maladie. (2) So it is in bodies politike:

when warre once seizeth vpon a countrey, rich in the plenties of a long peace, and full with the surfets of a continuall ease, it neuer leaues purging those superfluities, till all be wasted and consumed.

(1) Αἰὲς ἀχρον ἐκείναι, σφοδραὶ, ἢ ἐν τῷ ὑγιαίνοντι ὄντων: ἢ ὅδ' ἀναρταί, ὡς ἐν τῇ αὐτοῖς.
i. Ad summum boni habitus periculosi, si in extremo fuerint, non enim possunt in eodem permanere.

Terra quò melior, eò magis corrumpitur, vbi negligitur.

Nullius vini species vehementius acescit, quàm qua ab initio habuit dulcedinem.

(2) *In se magna ruunt: latissq; hunc numina rebus
Crescendi posuere modum.*

*Qua alia res ciuiles furores peperit, quàm nimia felicitas?
Opes atque diuitia afflexere Seculi mores, mensamq; vitijs suis
quasi sentinà Rempub. pessumdedere.*

Certis enim cuncta temporibus, nasci debent, crescere, extingui.

Più scende chi più sale.

Suis & ipsa Roma viribus ruit.

About the yeare 1490. Italy the most glorious & goodliest
B
countrie

Hippoc. aph: 3.

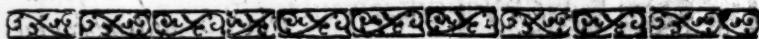
Plutarch.
Aristot.

Lucan. l. 1.

Flor. l. 3. c. 13
Ibidem.

Senec. Epist.
Pro. Ital
Horat. Epod. 161

countrie of *Europe*, stood in fairer tearmes of happinesse and prosperitie, then euer it had done since the first declination of the *Romane Empire*: she had enjoyed the sweet frutes of a long peace: she was not subiect to any command, but of naturall *Italians*: full of people and riches: many great Princes and States: many noble and faire Cities: besides, the *Sea and Maiestie of Religion*: many personages of worthie eminencie, in both the professions of *Arts and Armes*: and in great reputation with all other *Nations*. All which faire flowers of peace were sodainely blasted: most of the governments changed: the people wasted: the wealth exhausted: the cities demolished: Arts and Armes decayed: Reputation lost: and all by the heart-burning and ielousie of her owne Princes, which set that noble countrie in combustion, and being once on fire, ministred so much fuell of her Telfe, as in fortie yeares space it could not be quenched.



APHORISME II.



S (1) in man (the worlds Epitome) one member hath neede of another, nor can the more noble parts execute their office and facultie without the assistance of the most base: So in that great world, Providence hath severally dispensed her graces and blessings to severall countries, that standing in need each of others helpe, there might be a sociable negotiation, and friendly consociation betweene them. (2) Hence is it that Leagues are made betweene States, for the mutuall supplement and support one of another. But the Colleagues haue commonly their particular ends besides the generall good pretended.

(1) Hoc innuit fabula illa de membris cibum ventri detrectantibus, tanquam otiosa & inutili corporis parti.

Mutuis officijs, mutuis operibus utendum est: neque diuitia, neque dignitatum apices hominem satis tuentur: unicum & summum praesidium plurium amicitia est.

Nulla

Aesop. fab. 15.

Idem. Ibid.

Nulla Regio aut Resp. ex omni parte autarq̃, id est, sibi sufficiens.

Varium cæli præsdiscere morem,

Et quid quæque ferat regio, & quid quæque recuset.

Nam hæc quoque mira natura differentia, alia alijs locis negat: tanquam genera frugum fruticumq̃, sic & animalium: non nasci translatum, inuicta emori mirum.

(2) Suam quisque fortunam in consilio habeat, eū de aliena deliberat.

Quisq̃, suos patimur Manes — immo petimus fines.

Socios legi suadeam, non qui mediocri valeant potentia, & in proximis habitent.

Bocchum legasi monuerunt, ne florentes res suas, cum lugurtha perditis misceret.

Amicitias inimicitiasq̃, non ex re, sed ex commodo aestimare, magisque vultum quam ingenium bonum habere. †

Le leghe sogliono rendere i Principi, & più forti, & più animosi: però che molte cose non può, & non ardisce da se vno, che potrà, & imprenderà, accompagnato da altri.

Diuersi sono i pensieri di diuersi huomini, & ciò che in quello caso (delle Leghe) importa più, non pur diuersi ma contrarij per lo più, & repugnanti i Consigli & le Resolutioni, con le quali si reggono i Principi confederati.

Ferdinand King of Naples, with Lodowick Zforza Protector of his nephew Iohn Galeazzo young Duke of Millan, and Laurence Medici, chiefe magistrate and citizen of Florence, renew the league formerly made betweene these three States, to continue yet longer inuiolable for fivē and twentie yeares. Their maine end was this, To be able thus combined, to oppose against the Venetian greatnesse, which severally and distracted, they were not able to doe. They had also their particular ends, wherewith they aimed: Medici, that he might still stand great in his Cities command, and she happy in her peace. Ferdinand, that he might quietly and peaceably enjoy that his kingdom, to which hee knew the house of France made claime, and to whom many of his Neapolitan Nobilitie stood ouermuch affected: And Zforza, to maintaine and hold still that power and authoritie he held in Millan through vsurpation, by assuming the right, and abusing the youth and weaknesse of his Nephew, the lawfull Prince and true heire of that Duchie.

Arist. Pol. lib. 2.
Virgil.

Plin. nat. Hist.
lib. 10. cap. 29.

Curt. l. 4.
Virgil.
Arist. rhet. ad Alex

Salust. Iug.

Salust. Cat.

Rag. di Stat. lib. 8

Paruta. Disc. 5.
lib. 1.

APHORISME III.



Vhen (1) the Ballast or lading is well stowed in the ship, she maketh good way, and saileth fairly: but being vneuenly bestowed, it hindereth her course, and sometimes sinketh her. (2.) As also, where is an equall temperature of the humours, there is perfect health, and a good constitution of the body: but where these are distempered, and the maligne are predominant, there the former good habit is turned to some desperate disease. (3) So is it in a State, where the vicious and ambitious succeed in the place and authoritie, but not in the vertues and worth of their noble predecessors.

Boter. in Cæf.

(1) Mentre la Carica, sta ben compartita, il vascello solca commodissimamente le onde: ma se tutto il peso scorre à una parte, se ne va sozzopra, & si rinversa.

Gal. lib. de bon. hab.
Id. ibid.

(2) Bonus habitus optima quadam sanitas.

Optima corporis constitutio, in moderata similium partium temperie constat, exacta dissimilium mensura.

Ibid.

Natura temperata ad iustitiam, non ad pondus: in qua quatuor qualitates ad æquilibrium miscentur.

Plato de leg.

(3) Cum Magnates opprimunt subditos, idem est, ac si caput corporis intumescat: ut à membris omnino, vel cerè sine magna molestia, ferri non possit.

Seneca.

Ambitiosi priuatim degeneres, in publicum exitiosi, nihil spectant, nisi per discordias habent.

Ibidem.

Nemo eorum quibus in Repub. versantur, quos vincat, sed à quibus vincatur, aspicit.

Sophocles.

+ Vbi in urbe deteriora vincunt, tum peccata pessundant Ciuitatem.

Laurence Medici being dead, who tempered the ambitious humour of Lodovick Zforza, qualified the iealousies of Ferdinand, pacified the indignations of Alphonso Prince of Calabria, and kept the States of Italy counterpoysed in equall ballance: and Pope Innocent the 8. being also now gone, who after a long disposition to troubles, had yet at last, some yeares before his death, giuen them ouer, and laboured nothing more then peace. Peter Medici succeeds in his fathers place, but not in his vertues: a man insolently imperious in his cariages, and desperately precipitate

tate in his deliberations. And Roderigo Borgia a Spaniard enters the Papacie, vnder the name of *Alexander* the 6. a man though singular in policie and maturitie of iudgement, excellent in counsell, admirable in perswasion, vnmatchable in attempting, vndergoing, and effecting great matters, yet of a most leud and abhominable life, of no faith, no religion, insatiably couetous, immoderately ambitious, barbarously cruell, and furiously enflamed with a burning desire to raise his children to temporall preferments, by warre, bloud, or what meanes soeuer. Vpon these two (a rash young man, and couetous old wretch) together with *Zforza* the third incendiarie of his countrie, lies iustly all the imputation of putting all *Italy* into such miserable garboile.

APHORISME IIII.



S (1) in matter of publicke negotiation, a Prince ought to giue nothing in charge to his Embassador, but what may stand with his owne honour, and good of his State: (2) So in the manner of handling, he must prescribe him no vnusuall or vheard of forme, and for which he hath no former precedent, seeme the motion propounded neuer so plausible.

(1) C'est une vertu excellente es Magistrats, de bien entendre comme ils ont à se gouverner. & que leur doiuent apprendre les hommes, qui ont fait excellens preuue de leur siffisance, au maniemēt des affaires publiques, aux perfections & fautes dequels hommes ils ont à bien prendre garde.

(2) I Consigli noui & inusitati, possono al primo aspetto parer forse più gloriosi, & più magnanimi, ma riecon uani.

Chi lascia la strada vecchia per la nuoua,

Spesse volte ingannato si truoua.

Qua in suo statu, eademq; manent, etsi deteriora sint, tamen vtiliora sunt reip. his, qua per inuouationem ut meliora inducuntur.

Super omnibus negotijs, melius atque rectius olim pronisum, & qua conuertuntur, in deterius mutantur.

Amyot. in Plutarch.
Phocion.

Porcac. in Guice.

Pro. Ital.

Dion. lib. 11:

Tacit. Annal. l. 15.

Valer Max. l. 2.

Thucyd. l. 6.

In minimis quoque rebus, omnia antiqua consuetudinis momenta seruanda.

Li homines tutissime agunt, qui presentibus moribus legibusq; etiam si deteriores sint, minimum variantes, remp. administrant.

It was requisite that *Lodowick Zforza*, according to the ancient custome, should send his Embassadour to *Rome*, as well as other Princes, to congratulate the new Popes assumption to that Sea, to kisse his feet, and offer his obedience. But he would needs propound to those his confederates of *Florence* and *Naples*, that all their Embassadours should enter *Rome* together; should together present themselves in the Consistorie; and that one for all should make the Oration. A forme neuer formerly vsed, yet very plausible in appearance: for by this meanes, great reputation (as he supposed) would grow to them all: all *Italy* would take notice, that there was not onely a league and amitie betweene them, but such a combination of hearts and affections, as if they were all but one Prince and one State. To this *Peter Medici* opposeth, holding it a blemish to that glorie & magnificence wherewith himselfe meant in person to enter *Rome*: the rather being hereunto perswaded by *Gentile* Bishop of *Arezzo*, who (as ambitious to haue the deliuey of the Oration from the Florentine State) was grieved to be forestalled of the meanes to shew his eloquence in so honorable a Legation. Hereupon *Zforza* growes iealous that *Medici* was secretly combined with the *Arragonesse*, and a close enemy to him. *Medici* discouers some distrust in *Zforza*, and cooleth in his affiance of him. Which in the end bred to such a festered ylcer of malice and rancor betweene them, as the core could neuer be rooted out of their hearts, till their hearts were out of their bodies, and bodies out of their States.

APHORISME V.



IT (1) was a prudent advice of the late French King, to his brother Henry the 3. who would needs with those small forces they had, sally out of Tours vpon the great armie of Charles Duke of Mayen: Sire (quoth he) n'hazardons pas vn double Henry contre vn Carolus.i. Let vs not venture a double duckat to a single penie. For such gamesters fall to play with ouer much confidence, and fall by play into very much losse. (2) It is therefore an ill grounded deliberation in a Prince, to engage himselfe in an action, the sucresse whereof can be but sleight and of small moment, whereas the miscarriage may beget dangerous effects to him and his State.

(1) *Deliberandum censeo, res magna est: idq. diu: Ne luas grani-
us obtem leuem. &*

*Quicquid prater opinionem in bello euenire potest, priusquam in-
grediare considera.*

*Plura in summa fortuna auspicijs & consilijs, quam telis & mani-
bus geruntur. -*

(2) Non si denono rentar quelle cose, nelle quali il consiglio sia in-
certo, e l'issue che possa seguirne molto dubbioso: ne lasciarsi condurre
à tale stato, che la necessità di prender altro partito, tolga il beneficio
dell' elezione.

Princeps, non speciosa dictu, sed vsu necessaria, sequatur.

*Augustus dixit pralium aut bellum nunquam suscipiendum, nisi
quum maior emolumentum spes, quam damni metus ostenderetur. Nam
minima commoda non minimo sectantes discrimine, similes esse aiebat
aureo hamo piscantibus, cuius abrupti damnum nullâ capturâ pensari
possit.*

Ferdinand King of Naples, encouraged Virginio Orsini
to purchase certaine castles, and other seigneuries in the
territorie of Rome, of Franceschetto Cibò the Popes base
sonne, and lent him money to goe throgh with the bar-
gaine: perswading himselfe that the stronger Orsini was,
the better it were for him, being his dependant and kins-
man; and the more preiudiciall to the Church, of whose
strength and power he was ieaious, because of her
nearenesse to Naples, and pretence of title she made to that
State.

Terent. Eunuch.

Thucyd. l. 11.

Tacit. Annal. l. 13.

Paruta. lib. 2.
disc. 4.

Q. Curt. lib. 3.
Sueton. de Aug.
fol. 101.

State. Hereat the Pope stormeth, because those castles and lordships held in fee of the Church. *Lodowick Zforza* and *Ascanius* sharpen him on. They complaine to the other Princes of *Italy*, of the iniustice of the fact and wrong offered to the *Sea of Rome*. They leuie forces for redresse, and breake the shell of those troubles, which were before but in the hatching against *Ferdinand* and his kingdome.

APHORISME VI.



S (1) there is no condition of life, be it neuer so happie, but it hath his crosse; to shew vs that perfect felicitie is to be expected elsewhere. (2) So is there no Prince liuing, be he neuer so wise, but he sometimes erreth, for it is of necessity that he proue himselfe to be but man.

Plaut. Merc.

Solon. apud Iust.
Plutar. Fab.

An. Pi. de
Marco.

Xen. Cyr l. 8.

Tac. An. l. 3.

Porcac. in Guicc.

(1) *Cumque putant vivere, tunc runnt maximè: Nulla vita sua cruce caret: **

Nemo ante obitum, supremâq. funera felix.

Τὸ μὴ ἀμαρτῆν ὡςδὲ ἐν ἀεὶ καὶ ἐν ὅλῳ, μὲντοι ἔστιν ἀδύνατον. i. Vt nihil peccemus in rebus magnis, maius est quàm penes hominem.

Permittite illi ut homo sit, neque enim Philosophia vel imperium tollit affectus.

Pauca aliqua vnus videat, vnus audiat.

Princeps sua scientia non potest cuncta complecti.

Non sempre gli huomini suui giudicano perfettamente, bisogna che spesso si dimostrino segni della debolezza dell' intelletto humano.

Ferdinand one of the wisest Princes of his time, had procured the Popes indignation, by furthering vnderhand the purchase which *Orsini* had made. He had increased *Zforza* his feares, by hauing secret intelligence with *Peter Medici*. He much doubted lest these two Princes should ioyne in league with the State of *Venice* against him. All this in his wisdom he saw, and might easily haue preuented, had he but yeilded his sonnes base daughter with a competent dowrie to one of the

Popes

Popes sonnes : a match greatly by him desired. Wherein he suffered his wisdom to be ouerswayed with the swinge of *Alphonso* his pride and disdain, who scorned to condescend to a match of such disparitie in blood and honour, and of such disparagement to the house of *Arragon*.

APHORISME VII.



Well governed (1) States admit of no alliance but upon well grounded reasons. No grounds of reason so firme to build such contracts vpon, as those that are confirmed by former examples. No examples so forcible as those of our owne, and of these, the later the surer. (2) Yet are we not so peremptorily bound to these, but that we may loosen our selves, and take a new course, when the new deliberation brings with it an apparent and demonstrative assurance of the publicke good and safetie.

(1) *Exempla, fidelissimum precipiendi genus.*

Exempla vetera, pro documentis habenda.

Per varios casus, Artem experientia fecit,

Exemplo monstrante viam.—

Vsus omnium Magistrorum precepta superat.

Longum iter per precepta, breue & efficax per exempla.

Pausi prudentia, honesta à deterioribus, utilia à noxiis discernunt.

Plures aliorum euentis docentur.

Firmare animum expedit, constantibus exemplis.

(2) *Vn grand Politique, doit auoir non moins de memoire pour retenir & marquer vne infinité des choses passées, que de bon iugement pour les appliquer à leur droit usage.*

Io guardo & offeruo, tutti i detti & fatti d' Augusto, non altrimenti che vna legge.

A resolution is taken by *Alexander* the 6. and *Lodowick Zforza*, to breake with *Ferdinand* of *Naples*, and *Peter Medici*, and to enter a new league with the *Venetians*, against them both. The ouuerture and offer hereof is made to this State. She liketh well of their disunion, but

C

makes

Plin. l. 8:

Liuij l. 37.

Manil. l. 1.

Cic de Orat. l. 1.

Senec. Epist. 6.

Tacit. An. l. 3.

Tac. An. l. 16.

Amiot. in Plur.

Cic.

Tacit de Tiber. hist l. 4.

makes scruple to enter the league. Her reason: she suspects double dealing in the Pope, who grew daily lesse trusted of al men: but especially the remembrance of those leagues which she had formerly made with *Sixtus* & *Innocentius* withhold her. For from the one she had received much trouble and little good. And *Sixtus* (when her wars were at the hottest with the Duke of *Ferrara*, to which him selfe had incited her) not onely combined with other Princes of *Italy* against her, but prosecuted her also with spirituall armes. Yet vpon mature deliberation, that by this offer entertained and accepted, that bond should bee broken, which was knit at first by her enemies, to impeach her greatness: she treats vpon the conditions, and enters the league.

APHORISME VIII.



Ealouſie (1) in State, like that in loue, hath a double paſſion, of feare and hate. (2) This cauſeth the patient to think all remedie too weak for the danger; and to apply more violent Phyſicke then either the quality of the diſeaſe, or complexion of the diſeaſed can ſuſtaine. (3) Then which nothing is more pernicious either in bodies or States.

(1) *Res eſt ſolliciti plena timoris amor.*

Ingenia Regum, prona ad formidinem.

Dubia pro certis, ſolent timere Reges.

Principes amuli, & ſuapte natura, potentia anxij.

Qui Sceptra duro ſauis imperio regit,

Times timentes: Metus in authorem redit.

(2) *Exceſſis medicina modum, nimumq; ſequuta*

Qua morbi duxere manus. —

Nihil magis periculoſum in morbis, quam immatura & violenta remedia.

Intempeſtiu a remedia, delicta accendunt.

Scio Medicus plus interdum quiete, quam movendo atque agendo proficere.

Spesso accade ne' corpi pieni d' humori corrotti, ch' un rimedio uſato per proueder al diſordine d' una parte, ne genera de più permizioſi, & di maggior pericolo.

Se il rimedio non è baſtante, non guarisce l' infermità: ſe è molto gagliardo, non che il male uccide, anche la perſona in cui è il male.

E troppo nocuo, il prendere una volta tanto cibo, che lo ſtomacho

non

Ouid. Epiſt.

Saluſt. lug.

Tacit. An. 15.

Sen. Oed.

Lucan. l. 1.

Sen. de ira.

Tacit. An. 12.

Linij lib. 12.

Guicci. l. 8.

*Annal. in Tacit.
l. 3.*

Por. in Guicci. l. 8.

non sia potente à comportarlo.

(3) Se tu non hai forza da prenere, & d' offendere l' auersario, resta il concitargli adosso, qualche potente nemico: ma che ben tu ti guardi, che non si peggiori lo Stato: come auenne à Lodouico il Moro, che per assicurarsi da gl' Aragonesi, si fece preda de' Francesi.

Par inconsidéré & te n'air conseil, on entreprend beaucoup de mauvais acts: dont s'ensuiuent des desordres, ausquels on ne peut apres remédier.

Rag. Stat. 6.

Amyot. in Phat.
Anton.

Lodowicke Zforza had broke all bonds of friendship with the ancient allies of Naples and Florence. He had knit a new knot with the Church and Venice: these new friends he knew had diuers ends to his; and therefore durst not trust them, doubting lest when their owne turnes were serued, the foundation of this late alliance would bee sore shaken, if not vterly fall. Hereupon he resolues and effects the calling in of the French nation: pulling in more with one finger, then he could after thrust out with both his shoulders, to the generall disturbance of the peace of Italy, and to his owne proper ruine, and vter destruction.

APHORISME IX.



He (1) Panther carries with him a sweet sent, but an vgly face; that inticeth beasts after him, this affrighteth them: therefore he hides his head, till he haue the prey within danger. (2) So is the sa- uour of soueragntie very sweet, but the vgly face of those meanes by which it is gotten, men see not, and so runne into the toile, and perish in the pursue. (3) For being once embarqued in so bad a cause, the farther they wale, the deeper they are drowned in the whirlpoole of their owne errours: the more they weane in the loome of such deceitfull plots, the faster they are ensnared in the trap deuised for others.

(1) Ferunt Pantherarum odore mirè sollicitari quadrupedes cunctas: sed capitis toruitate terreri. Quamobrem occultato eo, reliqua dulcedine inuitata, corripunt.

Non sabe la volpeia, con quien trobeia.

Plin. nat. hist. lib. 8.
cap. 17.

Pro. Hisp.

Tacit. hist. 2.

Cic. Cat. 2.

Claud. 2.
Ruff.

Liuij l. 14.

Tacit. Agric.

Sal. de Catil.

Senec. ep.

Sen. Oed.

Virg.

Pro. Gal.

Amyot. in

Plut. Cat.

(2) *Id in Sciano, Vindice, Hippatio, Theophobo in Mario quoque, Pompeio, Casare, Sylla, Cinna, & alijs plurimis liquet ex historia. Vetus, ac pridem insita mortalibus, potentia cupido, omnibus affectibus flagrantior.*

Ambitiosi, honores quos quæta Rep. desperant, perturbata consequi se posse arbitrantur.

Ne quis nimium sublata secundis colla gerat:

Quid Crassos, quid Pompeios euerit, & illum

Ad sua qui dormitos deduxit flagra Quirites?

Summus nempe locus, nulla non arte petitus,

Magnaq. Numinibus vota exaudita malignis.

Humanus animus insatiabilis est eo, quod fortuna spondet, & ad aliora, & non concessa tendit.

Quos non Oriens, non Occidens satiauerit.

Vastus animus immoderata, incredibilia, nimis alta sepe cupiebat.

Habet hoc vitium omnis ambitio, non respicit.

(3) *Quicquid excessit modum, pendet instabili loco.*

Incidit in Scyllam, qui vult vitare Charybdim.

Tomber de Fieure, en chaud mal.

Ambition, non conseille bien son Esclave.

Zforza had abused the weaknesse of his nephew *Iohn Galeazzo*, (true Duke of Milan) and the power of his owne Protectorship: to the dishonor of his master, and vexation of his countrey. What he had gotten by proximity of blood, he intended to hold by dexterity of wit and policie. The guilt of this fact, made him suspect all: but none more then the King of Naples, into whose house his nephew was matched. To this effect he insinuates with *Peter Medici*, puts him in mind how capitall enemies they of Aragon had been to the Florentine State: who notwithstanding was so farre from inclining to his part, as he stucke so much the faster to the other. He then labours the Pope to warre vpon him, as successor to those Princes, who euer since *Frederick Barbarossa* his time, had stood ill affected to the Sea of Rome. But the Pope entertained his hopes no longer, then till he had made vse of his friendship, and after leaues *Lodowick* in the lash. This string being broken, he combines with *Venice*, who had also her proper end; and besides, by her power and neighbourhood was ablest and readiest to offend him, as afterwards appeared. And lastly, for a conclusion of his vtmost craft and policie, which indeed

deed proued the originall of all his future trouble and finall calamitie, he vnaduisedly calls in the French King, vnder pretext of the iust title he had to the kingdome of Naples, from Charles Earle of Prouence : who after with his sword pleaded also his right to the Dukedome of Millan, and wanne it, as lawfully descended from the Dukes of Orleans.

APHORISME X.



He (1) Aspicke pursueth him that hath hurt or killed his mate, and knowes him among a multitude : him he still hunteth, and layeth for his life, and breaketh through all difficulties and dangers to come at him.

(2) So doth the malicious and reuengefull.

For all vnbridled passions in man, and vpon which reason beares not a hard hand, are impetuous, but that of ambition is impetuously furious, and (when ioyned with reuengefull disdaine) furiously outragious. (3) Iniustice is the minister of disdaine, and reuenge is the executioner of iniustice.

(1) *Coniugase: è vagantur : nec nisi cum compare vita est : itaque alterutra interempta, incredibilis alteri vltionis cura. Persequitur interfectorem, vnamq; eum, in quantolibet populi agmine, notitia quadam infestat : perumpit omnes difficultates, &c.*

(2) *Colis hic Reges, calcet ut omnes, Perdatq; aliquos, nullumq; leuet : Tantum ut noceat, cupit esse potens.*

(3) *Pertinax honoris cupiditas, multas sapius edidit strages.*

Quis tot referre facinorum formas potest

Regnum petentis, per gradum scelerum omnium ?

Parcite à Dites, inhibete dexteras,

Laudis est, purum tenuisse ferrum.

Alle sceleratezze, snole condur gli huomini, la sete pestifera del dominare, & lo sdegno.

Il n'y a sorte de meschanceté, tant detestable soit elle, l'ambition ne commette, pour satisfaire a ses desseins.

Pope Alexander the 6. to exalt his sonnes the Duke of Candy and Caesar Borgia to temporall States : and to be

Plin. nat. hist.
l. 8. cap. 23.

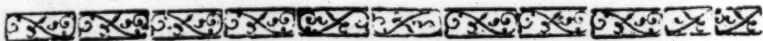
Senec. Herc.
Oët.

Am. Marcel. l. 17.
Sen. Oët.

Senec. Oët.

Por. in Guic:
Amyot. in
Plut. Agis.

reuedged vpon *Ferdinand* King of Naples, and *Alphonso* his sonne, for their scornfull reiecting his offer of a match betweene a sonne of his and their daughter, ioynes now with *Zforza* in the embassage to *France*, for the inciting and aiding that King to warre vpon *Naples*: to the shedding of much Christian blood, and spoile of the goodliest country in Christendome. An act in it selfe bloudy and odious, but much more in him, who by his profession and place, was the pretended *Head of the Church*, and *Father of peace*.



APHORISME XI.



Three things are necessary to euery worke: the workman, the tooles, and the matter. So euery matter that falls into deliberation, and is to be concluded in Counsell, must haue Iustice, for the mouer and efficient: Facility, for the meanes and instrumentall: and Profit for the obiekt and finall causes. Therefore in determinable cases of this nature, the Counsellor must insist vpon these three points, and proue them.

Tacit. hist. 2.

Leo Imp. de appar. bell.

Por. Guice.

Sueton. cap. 11.

Omnes qui magnarum rerum consilia suscipiunt, aestimare debent, an quod inchoatur, Reipub. vtile, ipsis gloriosum, aut promptum effectum, aut certe non arduum sit: simul ipse qui suadet considerandus est, adiiciat ne consilio periculum sumum.

In omnibus quæ in deliberationem veniunt, adesse hæc duo oportet: posse illud fieri, atque vtile esse.

La giustitia della causa, la facilità del vincere, il frutto grandissimo della vittoria: sono tutti i fondamenti, che considerarsi debbono, nel deliberar l'impresa.

Idem testatur Cicero Offic. lib. 2. & ad Heren lib. 3. Et Arist. Rhetor. lib. 2. c. 4. & ad Alexand. cap 4.

Augustus, nulli Gentis, sine iustis & necessarijs causis, bellum intulit.

Charles of Barbiano, Earle of Belgioioo, Embassador from Alexander the 6. and Zforza, to Charles the 8. to moue him to warre vpon Ferdinand King of Naples, proues the iustice

iustice of the action : for that this kingdome iuridically belonged to him by lineall descent from Charles Earle of *Trouence*, and *Rhené* Duke of *Aniou*, both of the blood of *France* : in which houses it had successfullly and successfully continued almost two hundred yeares. The facilitie of the enterprise, because he was assured of the Churches ayd, and of that of *Millan*: *Genoa* was at his deuotion: *Venice* would not expose her selfe to a certaine expence and no gaine, nor would she lightly breake her ancient amitie with *France*: *Florence* durst not: the Barons of *Naples* were generally discontented with the present government, and many of them were still of the *Aniouine* faction. The profit, because he should enlarge his Empire, enable himselfe by the strength and site of this kingdome (not being aboute seuentie miles from *Greece*) to warre vpon the *Turke*, the common enemy of Christendome, and by all likelihood beate him out of his Imperiall seat of *Constantinople*, and driue him ouer the *Helle-spont*, quite out of *Europe*.

APHORISME XII.



O (1) goodly a thing is vertue in it selfe, as euen her shadow, if it be in Princes, doth much good: to particular men, by imitation; and to the publicke, by participation. Wherefore, though simulation of what is good, and dissimulation of what is euill, be vices in a priuate man, yet in a publicke person they are necessary euils. In whom, to be ouuert in expressing his nature, or free in venting his purpose, is a thing of dangerous consequence. (2) For it harmes himselfe, and armes his enemy with preuention.

(1) *Ex omni vita, simulatio, dissimulatioq; tollenda. Cic. Off. l. 2 De prinata facior, de publica valde nego. Nunquam enim regent, qui non regent.*

Sanctitas, pietas, fides, prinata bona sunt.

Nescit imperare, qui nescit dissimulare.

Lex alia in folio est, alia prinato in thoro.

Lip. poll. 4.

Sen. Thyest.

Sigif. Imp.

Sen. Agam.

71

Cic.ep. l. 101.

Cic.off. l. 3.

Tacit. Agric.

Ariost. cant. 4.

Greg.

Sen. Med.

Tacit. hist. 3.

Vt ad effectum consiliorum suorum veniant, multa simulant oportet, & dissimulant, cum dolore.

Quod plerumque turpe haberi solet, turpe non erit: semper officio fungitur, utilitati hominum consulens, & societati.

Eruditus utilia honestis miscere.

Quantumque simular, fiale più volte

Ripreso, & dia di mala mente indizij:

Si troua pur in molte cose e molte,

Hauer fatto euidenti benefizij.

(2) Malum sub lingua, non in lingua habens.

Professa perdunt odia vindicta locum.

Simplicitas ac liberalitas, ni ad sit modus, in exitium vertuntur.

Ferdinand was a Prince, in whom the semblance of vertue, friendship, and other good things were very familiar, as also the dissemblance of hate or displeasure which he bare towards any of his neighbor Princes. This made him more wary of giving offence, or seeming offended, till he had fit time of taking reuenge. But his sonne *Alphonso*, a man in the strength of his age, and therefore of a hotter bloud and more fiery spirit, seeing his kinsman *Galeazzo* so much abused by the shamefull vsurpation of his vnkle *Sforza*, he could not temper his passions, but euen now when great plots were in laying against his father and country, he breakes out with more freedome then prudence, into contumelious speeches and bitter menaces against *Lodowick*; which forced him the sooner, and with more violence to runne into a warre that brought confusion to them both, and destruction to their States.

APHORISME XIII.



N (1) consultations a Prince must yeeld least to his owne passions. Graue Counsellors, whose wisdom and experience haue formerly aproued their seruice, must haue greatest credit in cases of greatest weigh.

(2) Such as aduise, either to sooth the Princes humor, or for their owne particular aduantage, may well be heard, but ought not to be followed.

(3) Where

(3) *Where it is otherwise, the effects are dangerous.*

(1) *Maximè salua est ciuitas, vbi consilia senum, & iuuenum arma obtinent.*

Equus est vt ego, tot taliumq; amicorum consilia sequar, quàm tot talesq; amici, meam vnius voluntatem.

Eum qui de sua vnius sententia omnia gerit, superbum iudico magis, quàm sapientem.

Natura mortalium, hoc nomine praua & sinistra dici potest, quod in suo quisque negotio hebetior est quàm alieno,

(2) *Συμβουὴν μὴ τὰ ἴδια, ἀλλὰ τὰ κοινὰ. i. Consule, non quæ suauissima, sed quæ optima.*

Improbi illi, qui veri copiam non faciunt : sed suspensa, & quò ducantur inclinatura, respondent.

Qui cum fortuna potius Principis loquuntur, quàm cum ipso.

Ad commodum suum, aut arbitrium Principis, videbis ab ijs plerumque referri.

Turbida sunt consilia eorum, quibus obstat metus, cupiditas, aut naturalis eorum quæ cogitauerint amor.

(3) *Ego ita comperi, regna, ciuitates, nationes, vsque eo prosperum imperium habuisse, dum apud eos vera consilia valuerunt : cumque gratia, timor, voluptas, ea corrumpere, post paulò immutata opes, deinde ademptum imperium, postremò seruius imposita est.*

Charles the 8. a Prince of a haughtie spirit, raised to attempts of highest nature, in the prime of his youth, at two and twentie yeares of age, transported with an ambitious desire of glorie, and grounded more vpon force of will, then maturitie of iudgement, is aduised by Stephen de Vers Seneshall of Beleari, and the Kings minion: by William Brissonnet, (after Bishop of S Malò, and Superintendent of the Finances): by Antonello da San Seuerino Prince of Salerno : and Barnardino of the same house (both exiles from the kingdome of Naples) to entertaine the sollicitation of Lodowick Zforza, for the warres with Ferdinand. De Vers hoped for great estates in Naples : Brissonnet expected great preferment from the Church: and the banished exiles promised themselues restauration of their honours, and restitution of their liuings. Thus all of them for their particular aduantage and proper end, fed the Kings humour, violently caried that way. But the more ancient, wise, and true hearted Nobilitie, and among these the Admirall Granilla dis-

D

swaded

Plutan sen ger.
relp. 789.

Marc. Ant.
Ph. Iosop.

Liuij 144.

Curt. l. 9.

Laert. in Solon.

Tacit. An. 13.

Tacit. An. 11.
Lip. Anot. 13.

Curt. l. 7.

Salust.

State he left to

Galeazzo the first
make his claime

dissuaded the action; alledging it to be an enterprise of
 great difficultie and danger: because he must leade his ar-
 mie into a farre Countrie, and against a powerfull nation.
 That *Ferdinand* was a Prince of great wisdom, and *Al-*
phonso his sonne a commander of great courage, and emi-
 nent reputation; and that by confiscation of so many Ba-
 rons lands, in thirtie yeares space, it was to be presumed
 hee was growne very rich. On the other side, that the
 King was too weake in those his green yeares, to sustain
 in person the weight of so great a burthen. And that those
 in chiefe grace about him, were insufficient, either in
 counsell or experience, to mannage so great an action.
 That he was vnfurnished of money. That the *Italians*,
 and chiefly *Zforza*, were cautelous and deceitfull, calling
 him in but to serue their own turnes. That none of them
 could endure a King of *France* to be peaceably posselt of
Naples. That it were necessary, before he engaged him-
 selte in this expedition, to compound all differences with
 his neighbour Princes. That there wanted no occasions
 of ieaiousie and discord betweene him and the King of
Spaine. That he had but cold correspondency with *Ma-*
ximilian King of the *Romanes*, and *Philip* Archduke of *Au-*
stria, by reason of many emulation, competitions and
 differences depending vndecided and vnstatisfied be-
 tweene them. Besides the iust feare he ought to haue of
 the English nation, if his backe were once turned, and
 his country laid open vnto them. All these weighty con-
 siderations notwithstanding, and whatsoeues was or
 might be said to the contrarie, he wilfully reiects all, fol-
 lowes the aduice of his fauourites *Brissomet* and *De Vers*,
 persists in his first resolution, condescends to the motion
 of warre, and dispatcheth with all speed the Ambassador
Belgioiso, with the Articles of agreement, and other ne-
 cessary instructions, for the warre.

APHORISME XIII.



Princes (1) in actions of greatest consequent, should be instructed by the rule of State, or directed by the prudent course of their Predecessors: (2) Else they giue warrant to euerie meane vnderstanding, to iudge of the action, and fore-iudge of the euent.

(1) *Connucauit ad se omnes literatos, & maximè eos qui historias norunt: requirens, quid in talibus causis (quales in disceptatione versabantur) veteres Imperatores, vel Romani, vel exterarum nationum fecissent.*

Alios Magistros exne: satis amplis Doctoribus instructus, maioribus tuis.

Adcò nihil motum ex antiquo probabile est: veteribus, nisi qua vsus arguit euidenter, stari malunt.

Moribus antiquis res stat Romana, virisq;.

Παρεχθ' ἡ ἀπορρημένην μαθήματα, αὐτῶν δὲ ἀεὶν διδασκαλία: i. Discite ab ijs qui ante nos: qua doctrina ratio optima est.

Διδάσκειν ἐμύχης. i. Experientia index.

(2) *Multis noua & ancipitia praeolare, auida & plerumque fallax ambitio est.*

Francis Zforza, father of Lodowick, a Prince of singular valour and prudence, though a professed enemy to the house of Arragon, and a strict ally to them of Anion: yet when Iohn Duke of Anion made his claime to the kingdom of Naples, and with all the forces that himselfe and friends could make, assailed it: he was so farre from ioyning with the French, as hee gaue aid and assistance to Ferdinand: so as from him alone the King acknowledged to haue obtained the victory, and saued his Crowne. This did old Zforza, not out of any loue he bare the Arragoneise, but, that the French might haue no footing so neare him in Italy. Vpon which reason Philip-Maria Visconti (before him) fell from them of Anion, and set free Alphonso, his prisoner and capitall enemy, whom hee had that time in Millan castle. On the other side, Lewis the 11. (father to this Charles 8.) vtterly refused the offer of Genoa, and meanes to war vpon Naples: holding the hazard

Lamp. de Seucro.

Tacit. An. l. 15.

Liuij l. 34.

Ennius.

Xenoph. Cyrus 6. l. 11. moriturus.

Pindarus.

Tacit. An. l. 14.

and vncertaintie of the purchase, vnworthy the great expence, and certainty of the losse. Yet these two sons (Lodowick of Millan, and Charles of France) quite contrary to their Fathers principles, the one out of a despiteous desire of reuenge, the other out of an impetuous ambition of dominion, embraced the motion, and engaged themselves in the action.

APHORISME XV.



Ide (1) not from thy Lawyer or Physitian, the state of thy cause, or body: nor discover to thy subiect or enemy, thy wants or thy feares: for it giues encouragement to the one, and quite dismayeth the other. Imitate rather the well-advised sea-man,

when thou steereest at the sterne of a great State, beset and set vpon by many and great forces: who seeing the clouds gather, the windes rise, and the waues swell, besides diuers Pirates hauing him in chase; as if both heauen and earth had conspired his confusion: hee raiseth the deiected thoughts of his souldiers and mariners, with many words of assurance, in the thightnesse of his ship, the goodnesse of her tackle, the swiftnesse of her sailing, and many other aduantages he hath vpon the enemy (though in his owne heart he truly apprehend the danger as it is). (2) Whereby he makes his resistance the stronger, or procures his peace, vpon better termes.

Am. Marell. l. 12.

Plutarch. in vita oratorum.

Sabellic. l. 4. d. 1.

Sid. App. 8.

Pro. Gal.

Liulj l. 22.

Sid. Ap. l. 10.

Virg. l. 10.

Liulj l. 22.

Plaut. Pseud.

(1) *Cautus nauigandi magister, clasos pro fluctuum motu, erigit vel inclinat.*

Veluti à prora dirigere urbem: Animal (ut ait Plato) suspensum i. versatilisimum.

Gubernare nauem, & rempub. simile.

Medicus in desperatione, Gubernator in tempestate, cognoscitur. Horum omnium famam, pracedentia pericula, extollunt.

Faire bonne mine, au mauuais ieu.

(2) *Principes natura magni, libenter audiunt, & audacter predicant magnifica. Spem magis ipsam, quàm spei causam insuentes.*

Solet abrupta sepe discrimina, salutis vltima desperatio propulsare.

Tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito.

Quò timoris minus est, eò minus ferme periculi est.

Bonus animus, in re mala, dimidium est mali.

Con

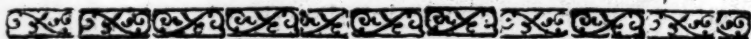
*Con questi detti le smarrise menti,
 Consola, e con sereno e lieto aspetto :
 Ma preme mille cure egre, e dolenti
 Altamente riposte in mezzo al petto.
 Ad efficiundos milites strenuos, nihil mihi videtur efficacius esse,
 quam bonas hominibus spes injicere posse.*

Tasso cant. 5.

Xenoph.
Cyripz.

Ferdinand of Naples saw the States of the Church, Venice and Milan, confederate against him : and the force of all France, like a mighty storme comming vpon him. He giues out to the world, how little he feared all their machinations and threats. If they meant to assaile him by sea, they should finde him provided of a royall Armada, able to encounter them : his Ports well fortified, and all in his owne hands. No Baron in his kingdome to giue them footing, (as the Prince of Rossana had formerly done to the Duke of Aniou.) If by land, his feare was then lesse : for they were to lead their troupes a march of a thousand miles, through diuers States, not without great iealousie of those Princes who would not faile to impeach their passage. And at their comming they should find his kingdome full of men at armes, and other horses of seruice : store of munition, artillery, and all other warlike habilliments : full coffers in his Exchequer, to maintaine those forces, and to raise new vpon occasion : many worthy Commanders, and his son Alphonso in chiefe, a Prince reputed through Europe, of eminent fame, and experience in martiall affaires. Besides, he had the King of Spaine, his kinsman by blood, and brother by marriage, of whose aid he was sure in all his extremities. These were his Bravadoes, giuen out in publick. But as he was a Prince of singular wisdom and great practice in the world, he had other considerations tormented him in his inmost thoughts : hauing there a deepe impression of all the troubles he had formerly endured by the French nation : hee deeply weighed how he was to wage warre with a courageous and warlike people, far too strong for him in horse, foot, shipping, munition, and money ; and daring to expose themselves to all dangers for the honor and greatnesse of their King. Himselfe on the other side, had assurance of
 none :

none : his subiects some of them bearing an inueterate hate to him and his house : others too much enclined to those men he had banished : and all the rest, *a people lesse true to their Prince, and more desirous of change then any other nation vnder heauen.* As for his ally of Spaine, he had often found by experience, that his offers are large, and report of his preparations great, but the effects, either none or small, and those very late, and out of time. And lastly, for his owne money, he had not such store as to serue his turne for the present ; and when that was spent which he had in ready cash, the warres would bereaue him of all meanes to leuie more. Thus he rightly iudged of things, though he gaue out otherwise. Whereby he encouraged his people, and raised forces both by sea and land, to encounter the enemy : who else, for feare of the French reputation and great preparation, would haue beene hardly drawne to the seruice.



APHORISME XVI.



Vch (1) are the changes and chances of mans life, as are the casts at Dice: good and bad. A good chance may be marred with ouersight, and an ill one helped by good play. (2) Somust a prudent and well-aduised Prince, take heed that hee gouerne his good fortune well: and if the necessities of the times, threaten warre and ruine vpon him, let him seeke to auoid them by all the meanes he possibly may.

Terent.

Plat. de rep. lib. 10.

Terent. Eun.

Valez. Flacc.

Tacit. An. 12.

Id. libid.

(1) Ita est vita hominis quasi cum ludas tesseris. Si illud quod est maxime opus iactu, non cadit: illud quod cecidit forte, arte vi corrigas.
ἡ γὰρ ζωὴ ὡς τὸ πλάνηαι μετὰ τῶν τессερων. ὅταν δὲ ἄλλο τι ἔσται ὡς ἐξ ἑνὸς. ὁ δὲ ἄνθρωπος ὅταν ἴδῃ τὸ κακὸν, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως αὐτὸν ἀποτρέψῃ. Oportet in talorum iactu, ad id quod cecideris, res suas aptare, quocunque ratio id optimum esse duxerit.

(2) Omnia prius consilio, quam armis experiri, sapientem decet.

Non solis viribus aequum

Credere: saepe acri potior prudentia dextra.

Cautus, quam acrioribus consilijs, potentia tutius habetur.

Tutus consilijs & astu, res externas moliri: arma procul habere.

Plura

Plura consilio, quàm vi perficiuntur.

*Militibus cupido pugnandi conuenit: Duces, prouidendo, consul-
tando, cunctatione, sapius, quàm temeritate profunt.*

*Ante equidem summa de re statuiffe Latini,
Et vellem, & fuerat melius, non tempore tali,
Cogere Concilium, cum muros obsidet hastis.*

Tacit. An. 12.

Tacit. hist. 3.

Virgil. Æn. l. 11.

Ferdinands hot was cast: and a furious torrent of troubles falling vpon him. To stop the violent current hereof, he must either pacifie the French King by some faire offers, or picke some principall Stone out of that foundation of the late league, which was first plotted and entred by those confederate States, onely for his proper damage and ruine. To this effect he sends *Camillo Pandone*, to the French Court: hee sees the chiefe fauourites about the King, with gifts, pensions, and other faire promises, to further his suit. And rather then not preuaile, he offers to hold his kingdome of *Charles the 8.* and his successours, with recognition of homage, and yearly tribute. He interposeth in the difference betweene the Pope and the *Orsini*: and brings it by arbitration to a finall and peaceable end. He offers the Lady *Sances* (his sonnes daughter) to match with *Don Giuffré* the Popes son; and giues them the assurance and inuestiture of the Principality of *Squillaci*, with an annuall reuenue of ten thousand Duckats, and a command of one hundred men at armes in pay. Hee treats likewise with *Lodowick Zforza*, (first broacher and mouer of all the mischiefe) and offers to referre himselfe to his will and pleasure, in all matters concerning his nephew *Iohn Galeazzo* and the State of *Millan*. Thus he failed not, in this desperate estate of his affaires, to vse all possible meanes of reconciliation with the Pope and *Zforza*, and of pacification and accord with the French King. But all would not serue.

APHO.

APHORISME XVII.



THe (1) defect of a vertue, is commonly much worse then the excesse: because this, though it ouerpasse the golden line of Mediocrity, yet it hath much in it, that still relli/beth of the vertue. Whereas that other extreame of the defect, neuer comes neare it. (2) Hence is it, that the passion of feare is of such force, as by it, the timorous are caried to more precipitate resolutions, through despaire, then the temerarious, through inconsideration. (3) So violently are they tossed in the sea of dangers, that haue lost their anchor of Hope.

Arist. eth. l. 3. c. 8.

Id. ibid.

Martial.

Por. in Guice.

Diog. Laert.

Liuij l. 4.

Sen. Her. fur.

Stat. 3. Theb.

Virg. l. 4.

Tacit. hist. 2.

Plut. Paneg.

Flor. de Sex.

Pomp.

Plut. de fort.

Alex. fol. 342.

Thucid. l. 1.

(1) Προς τὸ τὸ μέσον ἀντιμαρτυρεῖται μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκτρέφεται. ἢ. Medio magis opponitur defectus.

Qua enim plus à medio distant, esse magis contraria videntur.

(2) Res est imperiosa timor.

Alle deliberationi precipitose, si conduce non meno ageuolmente il timido, per la desperatione: che il temerario, per inconsideratione.

Timidi parcere nesciunt, & sanius agunt.

Necessitas, remedium & arma ultima desperatorum.

Pronus est timori, semper in peius fides.

Pessimus in dubiis augur, timorq.

Degeneres animos; timor arguit.

(3) Fortes ac strenui contra fortunam, insistant spes: timidi & ignani ad deliberationem formidine properant.

Nec prouoces bella, nec timeas.

Quod magna indolis signum, (sperare semper.)

Viaticum Alexandri in Asiam contendenti, Spes. Diuisa enim re familiari & reditu regio inter amicos, tibi verò (inquit Perdicas) quid facies reliquum? respondit, Spes.

Si quid irrita spe sentauerint, nona rursus spe amissa reparantes.

The faire offers which Ferdinand King of Naples had made to Zforza, were in faire way of preuailing with him, had not the fierie and furious passion of Alphonso the Kings sonne, marred all. For hee, because he knew well the timorous and suspicious nature of Lodowick, thought to dash all his attempts, and daunt him from proceeding farther, with high words of threats and me-

menaces. Wherein the yong Prince erred much: For by this meanes, hee tooke from *Zforza* all hope of vnfaigned reconciliation, which made him obstinately persist in his first resolution, and desperately proceede to call in the French, and further the action: though he now began to feare the danger, as well as other Princes of *Italy*. Not caring, so he might certainly vndoe his enemy, though hee put his owne fortunes and countrey into manifest hazard.

APHORISME XVIII.



LL (1) creatures are naturally skilfull and cunning to know not onely their owne good, but what may hurt and annoy their enemy. And therefore the Dragon biteth the Elephants eare, and thence sucketh his blood: because hee knoweth that to be the onely place, which hee cannot reach with his Tronke, to defend. (2) So the partie iniured (if he finde no other way) reuengeth himselfe vpon the iniurer, by infusing ill counsell into his eares. A Prince therefore, must eyther not wrong his neighbour, or not take his aduice whom he hath wronged.

(1) *Callent enim in hoc cuncta animalia, sciuntq; non sua modo, verum & hostium aduersa. Norunt sua tela: norunt occasiones: partesq; disidentium imbelles.*

Elephantis frigidissimus est sanguis, ob id astu torrente à Draconibus expetuntur: quamobrem in amnes mersos insidiantur: attractisq; illigata manu, in aurem morsum designant, quoniam is tantum locus defendi non potest. Ita eos à Draconibus ebibi, siccatisq; concidere, & ipsos inebriatos opprimi, commorq;.

(2) *Qualibet extinctos iniuria suscitatur ignes.*

Quod cauere possis stultum admittere est: Nolo ego nos prospicere, quam hunc vlcersi accepta iniuria.

Proclivius est iniuria, quam beneficio vicem exolvere: Quia gratia oneri, vltio in questu habetur.

Si non insanas satis sua sponte, instiga.

letter del' huyle au feu.

Le Despit est vn execrable Conseiller.

Plin nat. hist. lib. 8 cap. 25.

Idem cap. 12.

Ouid. art. 1. 3.

Terent. Eun.

Tacit. hist. 31

Terent.

Pro Gal.

Amyor. in Plut.

Agis.

Salust. fol. 70, de
Mich. & Lu.

Thucyd. l. 8.

Lamp. fol. 44.

*Statuit eum obiectare periculis, & eo modo fortunam tentare: Spe-
rans, vel ostendendo virtutem, vel hostium sanitta eum occasurum,
præfecit Numidis, &c.*

*Sic Alcibiades consilium dedit Tisapherni, animo quàm maximè
obnoxium criminibus eum faciendi.*

*Sic Irene filio Constantino inuiso suavit, ut uxorem suam repudia-
ret, quo omnium odia in se concitavit.*

*Hercules d' Este, Duke of Ferrara, and father in Law to
Zforza, vnderstood very well, that it was he onely which
had ouer-ruled the other States, newly entred into league
with Venice, to condescend to this award: That the Vene-
tians should quietly enioy Polifene: which they had taken
from the Duchie of Ferrara, some ten yeares before. Yet
Lodovick made faire semblance to haue stood his great
friend in the matter: and the Duke took no notice, of that
which he knew well enough. Zforza now desires to
be aduised by him, as by a kinsman and good allie, in this
great affaire he had against Ferdinand. Hercules giues him
the most pestilent counsell he can, and especially aboute
all the rest, he aduiseeth him to call in the French.*

APHORISME XIX.



*Nature, (1) out of the rich treasure of her store-
house, hath furnished many armies of her crea-
tures with armours of defence: but to all in ge-
nerall she hath giuen a care of their preserua-
tion, and some small meanes to auoid (if not re-
sist) a danger. To man, liable to more dangers, shee hath beene
more plentifull of her meanes to escape them. (2) And therefore
when he feares a mischiefe, from those whom hee hath iustly in-
censed against him, he faines all artifice of amends, and semblance
of friendship, to auoid that iust reuenge, which they might wor-
thily inflict, and hee necessarily expect. (3) A course, though
not of sincerity, yet of safety: though not to be taught for a rule,
yet to be excused for necessity.*

Plin. nat. hist. lib. 8.

(1) Vide Plinij naturalem historiam per totum libri octauj tractum.

(2) Non

(2) *Non magis hostibus vlla modo nocueris, quàm si amicitiam illorum simules.*

Decipere pro moribus temporum, summa est prudentia.

Quod temporis angustia negant, sagacitate consilii assequuntur.

Illud amicitia quondam venerabile nomen

Prostat, & in questu pro meretrice sedet.

Ei insidiantes, quem ob imbecillitatem vident magis expositum iniuria.

(3) *Arma parent, & quæ sit rebus causa nouandis, dissimulent.*

Vbi Leonina pellis non pertingit, oportet vulpinam assuere.

Cum contendere nequitum est, clam tendenda est plaga.

Iudice me, fraus est concessa, repellere fraudem.

Tuta frequensq; via est per amici fallere nomen,

Tuta frequensq; licet sit via, crimen habet.

Xenoph.

Plin. ep. l. 8.

Valer. l. 2.

Ou. 2. Pont. 3.

Plut. de frat. am.
fol. 490.

Virg.

Plut. Lyfian.

Pacua.

Ouid. art. 3.

Ouid.

Lodowick Zforza seeing the Princes of Italy incensed against him, and iealous of the French his comming downe to Naples, which they laid to his charge, and that euen they of the confederation feared it as much as the rest; vndertaketh to Ferdinand, the Pope, and Peter Medici, that he will coole the heat of Charles the 8. and diuert his forces from Italy. He protesteth, that himselfe also resenteth that intended warre, both for the generall good of them all, as also for his owne proper interest, being no lesse preiudiciall and fearfull to him, then to any other Prince of that country. He alledgeth, that what hee had hitherto done, was of necessity: forced thereunto by the ancient confederation betweene his house, and that of France: and holding all hee possessed in Genoa, in fee of that Crowne. This did Zforza, to entertaine them with vaine hopes, and amuse them with delayes, lest they should all set vpon him, before the French forces were on foot, and ready for his succours.

APHORISME XX.



He (1) Hart-wolfe, be he neuer so hungry and ready to eate, yet if he see another prey, he forsakes his meat and followeth after it. Such a Wolfe in the heart is ambitious couetousnesse: it makes no vse of what it

OLIM

E 2

hath

hath gotten, but greedily hunteth after more: and like *Æsops* dog, loseth the morsell in his mouth, by snapping at the shadow in the water. (2) He therefore maketh his bargain ill, that buyes a future hope with a present losse; and parts from a certaine possession, to make an vncertaine purchase.

Plin. nat. hist. lib.
8. cap. 32.

Idem c. 37. l. 11.

Terent. Eun.

Æsop. fab. 4.

Parut. l. 2.

Salust. Jug.

Ouid. Am. 2.

Plaut. Pseud.

Tasso cant. 2.

Arloft. cant. 38.

(1) *Lupo-Cervario quamvis in fame mandenti, si respexerit, oblivionem cibi subrepere aiunt: digressumq. querere aliud.*

Insatiabilia animalium: quibus à ventre protinus recto intestino transeant cibi, ut Lupis-Cervarijs.

(2) *Spem pretio non emam.*

Miser, deerat cupiditati tuæ modus: Jatis superq. erat ni desipuisses: iam per tuam stultitiam minus nihilo tibi est.

Nelle cose de gli Stati, è grande infamia, quando l'imprudenza è accompagnata dal danno.

Quantumvis opibus suis confidas, non debes certa pro incertis mutare.

Venator sequitur fugientia, captare relinquit, Semper & inuentis ulteriora petit.

Certa amittimus, dum incerta petimus.

Ben giro è di fortuna audace è stolto,

Per contra il poco è incerto, il certo è l'molto.

Che poco saggio si può dir colui,

Cbi perde il suo, per acquistar l'altrui.

Charles the 8. to be assured that the King of Spaine should not ayd his cosen *Ferdinand*, nor seeke occasion of troubles in his absence, restores, without one penie paying, the strong towne of *Perpignan*, and the whole countie of *Rosiglion*, morgaged to his father *Levis* the 11. for a great summe of money. A thing ill taken by all the three Estates in France. Because, it being seated at the foot of the *Pyrenean* mountaines, impeached on that side, the Spaniards comming into their country. He restores likewise to the Emperour *Maximilian*, all the townes hee held in *Artois*, reserving onely the Cittadels in his owne hands, till *Philip* the heire of *Burgundy*, came of age to confirme this couenant, Of not molesting his State of France, while hee was busied in the warres of Italy: And then, vpon performance thereof, to make resignation of those Cittadels also.

APHORISME XXI.



Nothing (1) can quench the combustible slime of the pond in Samosaris, nor the burning flame of the high bill Chimera, but onely earth. (2) So nothing can satisfie the muddy thoughts of the couetous, or the inflamed heart of the malicious, but onely the graue. For when his imagination perswades him, that he hath made sure his first purchase; the vn-satisfied disease of this Dropsie, drives him beyond all limits of iustice or reason, to thirst after more; and to thinke it good purchase. (3) Whereas there are no perquisites of lasting and sure tenure, but onely those of Vertue and Iustice.

(1) *Emittens limum flagrantem, (malitiam vocant) quam terra tantum restingui docuere experimenta.*

Flagrat mons Chimera, immortalis flamma: ignem eius accendi aqua, extinguere verò terra & fimo, Gnidius Ctesias tradit.

(2) *Improba crescunt diuitia, tamen Curta nescio quid semper abest rei.*

— *Ergo paratur*

*Altera villa tibi, cum rus non sufficit unum,
Et proferre libet fines, maiorq; videtur,
Et melior vicina seges: mercaris & hanc, &c.*

Auarus in nullum bonus, in se pessimus.

Crescit indulgens sibi dirus hydrops.

*Crescit amor nummi, quantum ipsa pecunia crescit,
Et minus hoc optat, qui non habet.*

Tam deest auaro quod habet, quàm quod non habet.

*Vnus Pelasgiueni non sufficit orbis,
Cum tamen à figulis munitam intraverit urbem,
Sarcophago consentius erit: Mors sola fatesur
Quantula sint hominum corporacula.*

*At primum scelerum matrem, quæ semper habendo
Plus sitiens, patulis rimatur, faucibus aurum,
Trudit avaritiam: cuius fœdissima mater
Ambitio, quæ vestibulis foribusq; potentam
Excubat, & pretijs commercia pascit honorum,
Pulsa simul.*

*L'ambition n'a d'arrest, & n'a pas si tost commencé une be-
sogne, qu'elle embrasse un autre: dont, la fin est, de ne laisser jamais,
ni soy, ni les autres en repos.*

Plin.nat.hist.l.1.
c.104.

Idem lib. 2. cap.
106.

Hor. l. 3. od. 1.

Iuven. Sat. 14.

Seneca.

Hor. l. 2. od. 1.

Iuven. Sat. 10.

Pub.

Iuven. Sat. 10.

Claudian. Paneg. 1

Amin. Plat. De-
met.

Bartas fur.

August.

Juvenal.

Salust. Cat.

Xenophon.

*Qui miserable croist, sans plus croist sa richesse,
Fier monstre, sans respect, sans amitié, sans foy,
Qui nuit à ses voisins, & plus encor' à soy.*

(3) *Remota Iustitia, quid sint Regna, nisi magna latrocinia?*

Semita cerè tranquilla per virtutem patet unica vita.

*Divitiarum atque formæ gloria, fluxa atque fragilis est,
Virtus clara æternâq; habetur.*

Εἶπε δὲ ἐδὲν νομίζου γὰρ ἀνδρὶ, ἀλλὰς τὴν καὶ ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος εἶναι κτήνη, καὶ ἀναμωστέον, Ἀρετῆς καὶ Δυσχεροῦς. i. Ego vero arbitror nullam possessionem, viro præcipuè Principi, meliorem aut pulchriorem esse, Virtute & Iustitia.

Lodowick Zforza perswadedd himselfe, that by the coming of the French, and weakning of the Neapolitan, hee need now no longer feare to be put out of his Protectorship and Vicegerency of Millan. He therefore erects his thoughts to a higher pitch. He giues in mariage his niece Bianca-Maria (Iohn Galeazzo his sister) to the new elect Emperour Maximilian, with couenant of foure hundred thousand Duckats in money, and forty thousand in Jewels, and other furniture: conditionally, that the Emperour should conferre vpon him, and his heires, the Inuestiture of the Duchie of Millan: to the odious and shamefull disinheriting of his nephew, the lawfull and present Prince: vnder pretence that this State was iuridically deuolued to the Empire, for default of heires males, euer since the death of Philip-Maria Visconti. By which he did insinuate, that his father, brother, and nephew, succeeding one another in that gouernment, were all vsurpers.

APHORISME XXII.



He (1) poisonfull Aconite, so desired of the Panther, is purposely hung vp by hunters, in vessels aboue their reach: whereof they are so greedy, as they neuer leaue lea, ing and straining thereat, till they burst and kill themselves, and so are taken. (2) So doe men that ayme at Honor, too high for their reach, and too great for their merit. For a heart overgrown with this ranke Aconite, neither admits the beames of Grace to mollifie the hardnesse, nor the bounds of nature to restrain

restraine the swelling : but is vnnaturally caried to wrong those of his owne blood that are liuing ; and to blemish the honorable fame of his predecessors departed. (3) Such tyrants may beare themselves vp for a time, but in the end they finde, that though diuine Iustice hath leaden feet, she hath iron hands : though slow in comming, yet she striketh home.

(1) *Tam audax hæc fera est Aconiti, ut à Pastoribus in aliquo vase, ex industria suspensum sit altius, quam ut queant saltu attingere, et ita, iaculando se appetendoq; deficiat, & postremo expiret.*

Plin. nat. hist. lib. 8. cap. 27.

(2) *Nullum est officium tam sanctum atque solenne, quod non ambitio comminuere, ac violare solet.*

Cicero.

Omnia recta & honesta negligunt, dummodo potentiam consequantur. L'Ambition n'aime que soy, & pour peu viole tous droicts d'amitié, & d'estroite alliance.

Cic. off. l. 3.

Amyot. in Plut. Dem.

Bartas fur.

Et toy Cupidité, que la terre, que l'air, que la mer, que le ciel, ne peuvent pas souler : Qui as de Crocs pour yeux, pour Boyaux des Abismes, Et de Giffes pour mains, contre l'ame tu t'escrimes : Et menez au combat l'enflée ambition, Qui bruste à petit feu, de qui la passion, Ne se laisse horner des Mondes d'epicure.

Quousque fines prorogabitur? Ager uni Domino, qui populum cepit, angustus est.

Sen. ep. 89.

Animum habuit semper ingentia, semper infinita expetentem.

Cuspin. de Cesar. Hor. l. 3. od. 2.

(3) *Dominare tumidus, spiritus altos gere : Sequitur superbos ultor à tergo Deus.*

Raro antecedentem scelestum, Infernis pede pæna claudo.

Sen. Hec. fur.

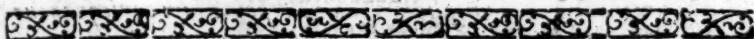
Quosdam precipitat, subiecta potentia magna Inuidia mergit longa atque insignis honorum

Iuuenal. Sat 10.

After the death of Philip-Maria Visconti, hee leauing no other children, Frances Zforza married his base daughter, and so came to be possessed of the Duchie of Millan. This State he left to Galeazzo his eldest sonne : and hee to Iohn Galeazzo the grander childe. Now Lodowick Zforza to make his claime seeme iust, and purchase lawfull, doth no longer couertly insinuate the vnlawfull vsurpation of his father, brother, and nephew, but impudently & most vnnaturally publisheth to the world, and protesteth it, in iustification of his owne ambitious aspiring. Hee also pre-

pre-

pretendeth and pleadeth his right, by the case of *Cyrus* against *Artaxerxes*, because forsooth hee was borne to his father after he was Duke. And in the end hee gaintes his pro-
cesse, and weares the diademe; more by corrupting the
Emperor with money, then by any iust title of his own.
Which though hee held for some yeares, yet he neuer en-
ioyed one dayes quiet: But what with the impressi-
ons of his owne guilt, and the pressures of his many & great
enemies, he was daily embroiled in the troubles of war,
and in the end dyed miserably a prisoner in *France*.



APHORISME XXIII.



N (1) Schooles of Art, Doubt begetteth know-
ledge: for he that doubteth much, asketh often,
and learneth much. (2) In the schoole of Policie,
she is the mother of good successe: for, hee that
feareth the worst, preuenteth it soonest. (3) It
is true, that man is naturally apter to interpret things to his own
wished end, then to the good of his enemy: and rather to doubt
lesse then he should, then more: (4) Though this later be the surer
way.

Gram vulg.
Claudian.

Ou. Met. lib. 6.

Virg.

Lu. l. 30.

Senec. sent.

Lucan. lib. 8.

Seneca.

Lu. l. 34.

(1) *Is qui nil dubitat, nil capit inde boni.*

(2) *— Ductorq; placebas*

Non qui præcipiti traheres simul omnia casu:

Sed qui maturo, vel læta vel aspera rerum

Consilio momenta gerens.

— Quantum mortalia pectora

Cæca noctis habent?

Hic magnus sedet Aeneas, secumq; volutat

Euentus belli varios.

Modum imponere secundis rebus, nec nimis credere serenitati præ-
sens temporis, prudentis hominis, & merito felicitis est.

Si nil velis timere, metuas omnia.

— Hac mensura timoris

Velle putant quodcumq; potest.

(3) *Quod nimis miseri volunt, hoc facile credunt.*

(4) *Omnia audens contemnitur, nil temere agens metuitur.*

Velocitas

Velocitas iuxta formidinem: cunctatio propior constantia est.

Omissus precipitibus, iuta & salutaria capeffenda.

Velox consilium sequitur penitentia.

Turpe est; dicere non putaram.

Qui timet insidias omnes, in nullas incidit.

Ferdinand is mistaken in the proceedings and actions of Lodowick, by construing them to such purpose as himselfe wished. His hopes are increased by the Parentade, which he saw lately concluded betweene him and the Emperour. For he perswades himselfe, that now of necessity Millan must quit her alliance and confederation with France, by reason of the enmitie betwixt the Empire and that Crowne. Hee assures himselfe that to minister such great summes of mony as were to be disbursed in dower with Lady Bianca, to the Kings Riual and professed enemy, would breed much diffidence and dislike betweene him and Lodowick. He supposeth that Zforzaes feare must now needs be as much, and his danger as great, by the comming in of the French, as any others: And doubteth not but that the Venetians (who were now held the greatest power of Italy) would neuer brooke the comming in of a greater then themselves. In all which vaine hopes, the crafty Duke cunningly fed him, till it was too late to be better aduised.

APHORISME XXIII.



Though (1) the generall good of the Col-
leagues, make the frame of all Confederations: (2) Yet particular interest is the foundation whereupon they are built: and as this continueth sound or weake, in any one of the Complices, so standeth or falleth that great building. For one State combines with another, in one and the same action, and concurreth to one and the same generall end, no longer then it is for its proper good. (3) The Practise runs often thus: the Rule stands other wise.

(1) *Communis utilitas, nodus & vinculum fœderis.*

F

(2) *Cura*

Tac. An. 14.

Ibid

Pub. Mi.

Scip. ap. Vol.

Seneca, sent.

Liuij l. 6.

Ouid. de
Pont. 1.

Parut. L. 2. disc. 3.

Rag. Stat. L. 8.

Am. in Plur.
Anton.

Ibid.
Mac. disc. 1. cap.
37.

Flor. de
Rom. L. 2.

Tac. An. 15.
Lib. lib. 1. fol. 11.

Polyb. lib. 3. fol. 81.

(2) *Cura quid expediat, prior est, quàm quid sit honestum : Et reditus iam quisque suos amat, & sibi quid sit Vtile, sollicitis computat articulis.*

In queste amicizie, ô colleganze de Prencipi, ha ogni uno per sola mira, lo stesso suo commodo, & particolar beneficio : & in tanto poi quello d' altri, in quanto per l' accidente, con suo proprio conuenga.

I Prencipi per l' ordinario non si muouono, se non per interesse : & non cognoscono amico, o nemico, se non per lo bene che ne sperano, o per lo male che ne temano. Et le leghe tanto durano, quando dura l' utilità de' collegati.

Amitez d' ambitieux, ne tiennent iamais ferme, de quelques liens qu' un les puisse serrer.

Affez d' accords, mais peu, ou point d' amitié, entre les grands.

Id consilium accipere, ad quod occasio duceret, quamvis non videretur esse ex sua dignitate.

(3) *Summa fœderum religio est : Neque statim ad arma procurant, dum prius more legitimo queri malunt.*

Continui fœderis reuerentia.

Fœcialis infœdere sciendo — Si prior defecerit publico consilio, doto malo : Tu illo die Iupiter populum sic ferito, ut ego hunc porcum hodie feriam — percutit, saxo silice percussit.

Sin abiter, aut ago aut cogito, peream, ut hic lapis è manibus decedit.

Had the strict confederation which Ferdinand made with Medici, or his new affinitie and parentage with the Pope continued firme, without vacillation on either part: hee had made those two States (of Rome and Florence) as two maine Vaw-mures and bulwarkes, against the French forces : and laid a strong foundation for his imminent warre. But the Florentines staggered, vpon their first summons to a peace and league with France, (though they declared not so soone) for feare of losing their commerce and traffique with that Realme. And Alexander the 6. who thought it best fishing in troubled waters, picked new quarrels with Ferdinand : either to force the distressed King to satisfie his ambitious greedinesse, with greater matters then he yet had : or by his mediation and labour, to reduce the Cardinall S. Peter of Vincola, to his obedience, who detained frõ the Sea of Rome, the strong Rockes of Ostia, Ronfiglione, and Grotta-ferrata, and kept them by strong hand against him: (a matter which was not in the power of the poore King to effect.) And thus in short time was this strong league dissolued.

APHORISME XXV.



He (1) Lawes Diuine and humane, haue left men no such bond of assurance, to tie one to another, as that of an oath: which should be taken in sincerity, and kept inuiolably. (2) But seeing the deprauation of our nature hath peruered these lawes, and abused this lawfull Aet, by Equiuocations and mentall reseruations, making it like a Gipsies knot, fast or loose, at their pleasure: (3) The Law of State prescribes vs this remedie, to trust no man of noted falshood, and duplicity, but vpon good caution. For, he that hath once passed the bounds of honesty, and made no religion of Oath, or Couenant, for his proper aduantage, neuer after makes scruple in his cauteriate conscience, to offend in like sort vpon like occasion.

(1) ——— Phalaris licet imperet ut sis
Falsus, & admota dicet periuria Tauro,
Summum crede nefas animam praeferre pudori,
Et propter vitam, viuendi perdere causas.

(2) Aditum nocendi, perfido praestat fides.
Fraus distringit, nos desoluit periurium.
Tam facile & prauum est, superos contemnere testes,
Si mortalis idem nemo sciat.

(3) Poco s'aspetta sincerità, o opere fideli, da chi è venuto in concetto de gli huomini, d'esser solito à gouernarsi, con duplicità, & con artifizij.

Fides ut anima, vnde abiit, è nunquam redit.

Etenim redire, cum perit pudor, nescit.

Qui à commise vne iniustice, se lasse furieusement la bride à des autres iniustices, encores plus grandes, que les premieres.

Vn meschant entasse tousiours crimes sur crimes.

Sic notus Vlysses? Equo ne credite Teucris.

Carbone pollicente quippiam, & addente iusiurandum, populus Rom: vicissim iurauit, se illi non credere.

Iuuen. Sat. 10.

Sen. Oed.

Cic. off. l. 3.

Iuuen. Sat. 13.

Por. Guice.

Senec. sent.

Senec. Agam.

Am. in Plut. Agis.

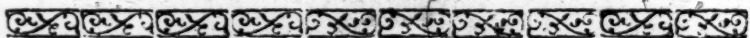
Plut. Gracch.

Virg. Æn. 2.

Eras. apoph. l. 6.

Pope Alexander, a man beyond example for falshood, had now contrary to his protestations and league with Ferdinand, enclined to a contract of friendship with France.

France. He had promised a Cardinals hat to *S. Malò*; at the Kings instance. He with *Zforza*, had entertained in pay *Prospero Colonna*, and diuers troupes of men at armes, for the Kings seruice against *Naples*. Yet presently again, contrary to his assurances giuen to the French, he confederates himselfe with *Alphonso* the new King, and son of *Ferdinand*, in a league defensiue for both their States. He grants him the inuestiture of the kingdome of *Naples*, with a diminution of the tribute. He sends a Legate à *Latere* to crowne him: he creates *Lodowick*, son of *Henry*, his base brother, Cardinall of *Arragon*. The price is this: *Alphonso* must giue the Pope in ready money thirty thousand Duckats: he must giue his eldest sonne, the Duke of *Candia*, estates in *Naples*, to the valew of twelue thousand Duckats. He must haue also the reuerfion of the first of the seuen principall offices that shall fall in that kingdome. He must giue him the command and entertainment for three hundred men at armes. To his second son *Cesar Borgia*, he must giue the annuall entrade of diuers Ecclesiasticall liuings. And to *Giuffré* the yongest son, (ouer and besides what he already possessed in that kingdome) he must also giue the office of Protonotary.



APHORISME XXVI.



*I*ustice (1) and iniustice, are the most generall of all other morall or politicall habits. There is no vertue or vice, which they do not comprehend. (2) Therefore he which is vnttrue in his word, and vniust in his actions, is apt to perpetrate all other nefarious villanies, and to suborne others to do the like. Where his owne attestation may not bee admitted by law, he will foist in false witnesses: and where Iustice and Equitie restraines him, his power and pleasure shall preuaile. For, what he may not doe, he will list to doe, because he may doe what he list.

(1) Εν ᾧ διαμοσύνη συλλήβδην πᾶς ἀρετὴ ἐστὶ ἡ. *Iustitia in se virtutes continet omnes.*

Ἀδικία ἢ μάθη κακίας, ἀλλὰ ὁληκαία. ἡ. *Iniustitia, non pars est vitij, sed totum.*

Fundamentum perpetua commendationis, & fama, Iustitia est.

Pietate & Iustitia, Principes Dij sunt.

Virgo est Iustitia, Ioue prognata,

Casta, & veneranda Dij cælicolis.

Θεὸς δέ τις αἰεὶ τῷ γυναι ἀνδρῶν μὴ ἀπλόιστο παρ, δόξαται Αἰδὸς τὴ καὶ Δίκην: ἡ ὡς πολλοὶ κέραιοι τὴ καὶ δόξαι, καὶ εὐίας συνάγωγοι. ἡ. *Deus metuens ne totum humanum genus interiret, donauit hominibus Pudorem & Iustitiam: ut essent ciuitatum ornamenta, & vincula, & amicitia conciliatrices.*

(2) *Periere mores, ius, decus, fides.*

Nullum ad nocendum tempus, angustum est malis.

Quod non potest, vult posse, qui nimium potest.

Minimum docet libere, cui multum licet.

Caesar Borgia was base sonne to Pope Alexander the 6. now becaule it was against the Church Canons to admit any bastard to the dignitie of Cardinall, his father (who was seldome true in any of his promises, or iust in any of his dealings) deales falsly also in this. Hee subornes certaine knights of the post, to come into Court, and sweare, that Borgia was the legitimate sonne of another man.

APHORISME XXVII.



Long (1) festered vlcers are beyond the possibilitie of cure, in a body where the humours are ranke and venemous. (2) So a turbulent spirit, exulcerate with the corrasines of many wrongs, and impatient of delay in his reuenge, is so farre transported from reason, or accepting the supple oyle of reconciliation, as he enters into resolutions of desperate consequence, and vents the poyson of his malice, by the pipes of his treasonable practises, into euery veine of his natue Countrey. To the great hazard of her health, and publike safetie.

(1) — Serò medicina paratur

Cum mala per longas conualuere moras.

Fit in Hydropicis, aqua inter cutem laborantibus, orta in corpore vlcera haud facile sanantur.

Arist. eth. l. 3.

Ibid.

Cic. Off. l. 3.

Aug. apud. Sen.

Hesiod. op. l. 1.

Protag. de leg. l. 5

Sen. Her. fur.

Sen. Med.

Sen. Hippol.

Sen. Troa.

Ouid.

Hipp. aph. 8. sec. 6.

Sen. Thyest.

Ex hist.

Guicc.

Tacit. hist. 1.
Herodian.

(2)

—Vindicta

*Nullum relinquit facinus, & nullum est satis.**Minuti semper & infirmi est animi exiguiq, voluptas ultionis: hoc patet in Alcibiade, Coriolano, Narsete, Roberto Comite Artesie, in Comite. Stabuli S. Paulo, Duce Borbonio, & alijs.**E proprio uffizio della Prudenza, moderare lo Sdegno iusto, con la maturità del giudizio, & con la consideratione dell'utilità, & d. l'interesse publico.**Privata vulnera, reip. malis operire statuit.**Ut beneficia in ipso excidunt vsu, sic tenax est iniuriarum memoria.*

Iulian della Rouere, by birth a Genouese, by title Cardinall of S. Peter in Vincola, betweene whom and Roderigo Borgia (now Pope) was an inueterate and implacable hatred, had a strong party in his natue Citie of Genoa, and the fittest meanes to saue all Italie from trouble, by hindring the designes of the French in that towne: whereof he had giuen some hope to Alphonso. Médiation is made by many of the Italian Princes, for a perfect reconciliation of these two Prelates. Good caution is offered for the Cardinals safe-conduct to Rome, there to make a finall & full end of all differences and quarrels betweene the Pope and him. But so deeply rooted was the Cardinals rancor and hatred, as hee refuseth all meanes of attonement. He posteth from Genoa where hee was borne, to Auignon where he was Legate; thence to Lyons where he met the French King: and became chiefe head of the Italian exiles, and principall instigator and procurer of all those troubles that shortly after followed in Italy.

APHORISME XXVIII.



N (1) a warre begunne betweene two mightie Princes, it is dangerous for a third, and neighbour to them both, not to be a party, being called into the action: for he is in peril to be a prey to the victor. (2) But to him that is strong, and likelier to get then lose by the bargain, which side soeuer preuailes, there is the lesse hazard. Therefore in such cases, the safest is to be neuter.

(1) Quando

(1) *Quando non effugias quin alterum habiturus sis inimicum, aut socium: iacienda tunc alea, & alterutri adharendum.*

Qui euentum expectaueris, ut Fortuna applicares consilia tua, praeda victoris eris.

Romano's socios si aspernamini, vix sana mentis estis: sed aut socios aut hostes habeatis necesse est.

Vidimus quos ignavia aut prava calliditas (ut alienis laboribus tui essent) armis abstinuit, acerbissimas pœnas soluisse.

Inter impotentes & validos, falso acquiesces.

Ecquid ad te post paulo ventura pericula sentis?

Tum ina res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet.

(2) *Lo stringersi in amicizia & confederatione con altro Principi, più potente, & molto vicino, quando si tratti d'accrever gli con tale congionzione Potenza, come non manca mai del pericolo, così è consiglio da non prendersi, se non per grande necessità. Et massime per quei Principi, che non sono tanto deboli, che conuengano appoggiarsi ad altri, & accompagnar in ogni euento delle cose, la sua fortuna con quella d'altri.*

La Neutralità nella guerra de gli altri, è cosa lodeuole, e per ella si fuggono molte molestie, & spese: quando non sono si deboli le tue forze, che tu habbi da temere la vittoria, di ciaschuna delle parti.

Quiescite, possidentes res vestras, ac neutrorum partes sequimini: Recipite virosq; amicos: sed belli gratia neutros.

Sucton.

Liuij l. 32.

Liud. 412.

Sal. ep. Mith.

Tac. de mor.

Germ.

Hor. l. ep. 18.

Parut l. a. disc. 9.

Guicci. 10.

Thucyd. l. 2. fol. 50.

Embassadours come from Charles the 8. to Venice, to draw that State into amitie and league with him, by example of many former confederations betweene them and the Crowne of France: they excuse themselues, by the feare they pretend of the Turkes forces, which at this time were great, and the meanes he had to molest them, their State confining vpon his, so many miles both by land and sea: in which regard they were forced to bee at an insupportable charge, by maintenance of many garisons in the *Archi-pelago*, and Port-townes vpon the *Adriatique* sea. But indeed they hoped, by the long warre of the other Italian Princes, engaged either with or against the French, to enlarge their owne dominions: or at least (being so strong as they were) they had no cause to feare the Conqueror. And therefore they held it a counsell ill grounded, to embroile themselues in others troubles, or make another mans quarrell their owne, without euident necessity.

APHO.

APHORISME XXIX.



S (1) in a generall defection or rebellion, some few, not all, are to be punished, for example: so a generall repulse to a great Princes demand, by a popular State, is not to haue a generall reuenge. It is better to punish the head for the motion, then the hands or the feet for the action. (2) Because

by this meanes, the Prince may insinuate himselfe into the generall fauour of that multitude, and procure their dislike against his particular opposites.

(1) *Toujours en vne reuolte generale, il faut punir les chefs des seditions, & pardonner au reste.*

Sic Facialium officium eras, lasi fœderis authores lasi dedere: Sic in defectione Fidenatum à Romanis, Martius rex paucos exijs defectionis authores, supplicio affecit.

(2) *Quicquid multis peccatur, multum est.*

Vnius improbi supplicio, multorum improbitas coeretur.

Pœna ad paucos, metus ad omnes perueniat.

Debet Princeps omnia scire, non omnia exequi: parvis peccatis veniam, magnis seueritatem commodare: nec pœna semper, sed sapius pœnitentia contentus esse.

Temperatus timor est qui cohibet, assiduus & acer ad vindictam excitat.

Non a cupientibus auferatur Dux & Author.

Qui vult amari, languida regnet manu.

Viro Principi ubi pœnarum aut coercionis res est, alijs id delegandum: ubi prœmiorum aut munerum, ipsi obendum.

Frequens vindicta paucorum odium reprimat, omnium irritat. In arduis rebus, pericula solent incumbere consilij authoribus.

The Florentine State receiues Embassadours from the French King, to sollicite their alliance, and passage for his armie, through their countrey. The fauours and merits of his ancestors to that Commonwealth are vrged: & particularly to Peter Medici, with commemoration of the honours done to his House by the Crowne of France. But Medici, rather measuring things by will, then by prudence, too much trusting in himselfe, and vainly perswaded, that all their great preparations would vanish

to

Am. in Plur. &
Hail. affair. l. 2.
Dion. Halic.

Lucan.
Cic. in Ver. 3.
Cic. pro Clu.
Tacit. Agric.

Ibid.
Tac. Ann. l. 16.
Senec. Theb.
Zenoph. in
Hieron.
Sen. de Cl. 5.
Sallust. Cat.

to smoak and rumor, stiffly resolueth to continue in friendship with the house of Arragon. The rest of the Florentines are forced to yeeld to this one mans greatnesse. Vpon the first ouerture in France of this deniall, the King causeth all the Bankers for the Medici, that were in Lyons, presently to depart his Realme. But suffereth the other Florentine Merchants to abide there still, and enioy their former libertie and priuiledges. Hereupon Medici himselſe grew daily in greater dislike with the other citizens, and the King not long after found them willing to accept his motion to a League with them, and concluded it.

APHORISME XXX.



THe (1) contemplatiue part of Musick, consisteth chiefly in a true disposition of Proportions: and the Actiue, is in a symphonie and right setting of the Instruments one to another, and the voice to both. In Oeconomie, men must cut their coate to their cloth: and in moralitie, quid, quantum, quibus, quando, and quomodo, are necessary attributes to euery vertue. (2) So likewise in policie, a prudent Prince standing vpon the defensiuē part, is to measure and proportion his resistance according to the strength or weakenesse of the assailer; (3) and that in due time: (4) by frustrating (as much as in him lieth) the Mines made to blow him vp, by his owne countermines of Preuention, and Diuersion.

(1) *Musica Theorica est, quæ diuersorum sonorum proportionem, ingenio & ratione considerat, reiq; tantum cognitione contentus est: Practica, quæ circa sonorum & consonantiarum praxin versatur: Choralis verò quæ in suis notulis æqualem seruat mensuram, &c.*

Οὗτος δὲ αἰνῶς, καὶ ὁμοῦ, καὶ ὁμοῦ, καὶ ὁμοῦ. Quibus, quacunque, & quando, & ubi, honestum est.

(2) *Illud est non modo instum, sed etiam necessarium, cum vis vi illata defenditur: hoc, & ratio doctis, & necessitas barbaris, & mos gentibus, & feris ipsa natura præscripsit.*

Ducis in consilio, posita est virtus militaris.

Σταθὸν ἡγῶν ἀπαύς. i. Periculosares, Dux inconsultus.

Loſſeroten.

Arist eth. l. 4.
cap. 1. & l. 3 cap. 9.

Cic. pro Mil.

Publius.
Eurip.

Amm. Mar. l. 16.

Brut. ep. 29.

Pro. Ital.

Guic. l. 10.

Pro. Ital.

Vegetius.

Idem.

(3) *Negotijs difficillimis, sæpè dispositio tempestina prospexit. Apparatio qua minimè in tempore fit, non plus conducit quàm in apparatio, quæ penitus est inutilis.*

Acqua lontana, non spegne fuoco vicino.

(4) *Con le Preuentioni, & con le Diuersioni, si vincono le guerre. Alla Pentola che bolle, le Mosche non vi s' appressano. Nemopronocare audet, aut facere iniuriam, ei regno aut populo, quem intelligit expeditum & promptum ad vindicandum.*

Qui desiderat pacem, præparet bellum.

The French king was assured of *Genoa*, *Millan*, the *Colonnese*, and the banished *Neapolitans*. *Alphonso* was combined with the Pope, *Florentines*, and the *Orsini*. The King sends two thousand *Swiss* to *Genoa*, vnder the conduct of the Bailiffe of *Dijon*; and three hundred Lances into *Lombardy*, vnder the command of *Monsieur d'Aubigny*; with five hundred more vnder *San Seuerino*, Count *Gaiazzo*, *Galeotto-Pico Mirandula*, and *Rodolpho de Gonzaga*: On the other side, *Alphonso* sends an armie of one hundred Squadrons of men at armes, (twentie horse to a Squadron) besides three thousand light horse, and crosse bowes on horse back, with many companies of foote, for the warres in *Romagna*, vnder the charge of *Ferdinand Duke of Calabria*, (his eldest sonne) to be aduised and directed by *Iohn-Jacob Triultio*, and the Count *Petigliano*, two famous Captaines. The French King prepares a great armie at sea, of gallies, ships, and other vessels; with all manner of artillery, munition, and other necessarie prouision. He makes readie another at *Marseilles*, and *Villa-Franca*. And *Alphonso* with like care and military policie, conuents secretly with *Cardinall Fregoso*, and *Obietto Fiesco* (who had strong parties in *Genoa*) with a great fleet to put into that citie all the banished *Genoweses*, of the faction *Adorna*: so to prevent the enemie of that Port, and diuert him some other way. To this effect he sent *Don Frederick* to their aide, with a squadron of thirtie five gallies, and eightene ships, well appointed, and three thousand souldiers for land.

APHORISME XXXI.



Nothing (1) rideth on swifter wings then fame and opportunitie: here is onely the difference, that flieth still forward, this backward. (2) She must therefore be taken by the fore-top, at the very instant of her coming. For occasion past is irrecoverable, and the losse by slackening it, irreparable. Fortune seemes after to crosse all a mans actions: and to be true handmaide to no mistress, but occasion.

(1) *Fama malum quo non aliud velocius ullum
Mobilitate viget, viresq; acquirit eundo.*

Nimiosa vola pio, che l'occasione.

(2) *Si in occasionis momento, cuius præternolat opportunitas,
cunctatus fueris, nequiquam post omissam querere.*

*Non ego ut nihil agatur (inbeo) sed ut agentem te, ratio ducat, non
fortuna: tua potestatis semper tu, tuq; omnia sint: ut neq; tua occa-
sioni desis, neq; suam hosti des.*

Post est occasio calva.

Opportunitatis momenta, omnino redire nesciunt.

Omne malum nascentes, facile opprimitur, inueteratum fit robustius.

*Il male che nel principio suo, è quasi Ruscetto, che si possa passar à
piedi, col progresso acquisita forza, & divenuta formidabile.*

Quando occasio perijt, post sera cupimus.

Dubitando & dies prolatando, magna opportunitates saepe corrumpuntur.

*Κρατὶς δὲ ἐν παντὶ μὲν ἔστι ἀνθρώπων ὁ καὶ ἐν μέλει, δὲ ἔστι πολέμικον. i. Mul-
tum potest in rebus humanis occasio: plurimum autem in bellicis.*

*Ἐγνωντα καὶ ἐν Τεμπυῶν ὡς τοῦτο ἔστι, ἰστέ, τεμπεστίνον τεμ-
πυῶν ἔστι.*

Had Don Frederick, when his nauie was readie, and forces shipped, made amaine for Genoa, as it was ordered and resolved, he had beene master of the towne before the Swisses arriual, or the enemies shipping was readie. But staying vpon the coast of Siena for two thousand foot more, and being deluded by the deceitfull hopes which were sent him from Zforza, & fore-slacking this faire occasion, he afterwards found that Imprese impos- sible, which but one month sooner had bin most faisible. As also the land namie, vnder Ferdinands leading being now growne mightie and strong, by vniting the forces

Virg.

Guicci. l. 11.

Liu. lib. 25.

Liu. l. 24. de Fab.

Adag.

Pro. bel. Per.

Rag. Stat. l. 3.

Rag. di Stat. l. 5.

Plaut. Aul.

Salust. Cat.

Polyb. l. 8.

Auson. 87.

of Medici and Bentiuoglio, had beene faire for some notable successe in Lombardy (whither it was first desseigned) had it not made such slow haste from Naples, and suffered d' Aubigni, San Senerino, Galeotto Pico, and Gonzaga, with their forces to enter Romagna, before their comming. And so were forced to make that (being their owne countrie) the seate of the warre.

APHORISME XXXII.



He (1) first worke of physicke in a diseased bodie, is to repell the venemous humours from the heart: because a disease once seated in this metropolis, is incurable. And the first care of the members in man, is to ward a blow made at the head. Art and Nature, in preserving and defending these two nobler parts, are to be imitated by a wise Prince, in guarding a place of chiefeest importance. (2) He must send in succours, and draw out the discontented and dangerous mutiners: (3) and spare for no cost, to saue that peece, in the losse whereof consisteth the Maine of all his businesse.

(1) *Præcipuum in medico, qui agrotum curas, ut cor bene defendat.*

(2) *Huius consilij fructum inter multos alios ceperunt, in obsidione Patavina Veneti: in Viennensi Carolus quintus: in Miletsensi Equites illius ordinis.*

Cremona propugnaculum aduersus Gallos trans Padum, & si qua alia vis per Alpes ducet.

Existimo omnes fortunas nostras, nunquam adducendas in periculum tale, quod non quonibus viribus propulsare queamus.

Oppida aut Castella, aduersus moras obsidionis, annis copys firmantur.

Et propugnacula bellorum parent.

(3) *Nescis quo valeat nummus, quem prabeat usum.*

Maximè quandaque lucratur, qui nummus parci minimè. Pecuniam in loco negligere, maximum interdum est ludum.

Nesci Rex, ut Perses, Pecunia quam Regni melior custos.

Pecunia ancilla est, si scitis uti: si nescis, domina.

Zforza, besides the Swiffe sent to Genoa by the French, sends thither also Iaspas San Senerino, surnamed Fracassa, and

Crol. Chym.

Ex hist.

Tacit. hist. l. 2.

Mac. disc.

Tacit. Agric.

Vir. Æn. l. 4.

Hor. Ser. 1.

Terent. Heaut.

Idem.

Lin. de. s. l. 4.

Seneca.

and Antonio Maria, his brother, with two companies of foote. He winnes to his deuotion, with gifts, pensions, and other large promises, Iohn-Luigi Fiesco, and many of the *Alorni*, with diuers other gentlemen and commoners. And lastly, to leaue nothing vnsecure or vnprovided for, (considering how much the assurance of this towne imported the warre of *Naples*) he calles to *Milan* from *Genoa*, and all the countrie thereabouts, all such as he suspected to be partisans with the banished Genoweses, or the faction of *Arragon*. And thus became assured of the place.

APHORISME XXXIII.



AL (1) creatures suppose their owne brood the fairest: and all men thinke the aire of their owne country the sweetest. Hence is it, that malcontent exiles stirre vp forreign Princes to warre vpon it: not caring to what perill they expose others, so themselues may be Rimpatriate. (2) But no mans strength lies in anothers arme: nor is that power firme, which subsists not of it selfe. Princes therefore that surre engage themselues vpon such instigation, and relie vpon such promise, they doe but leane on broken reeds, and build their hopes on sandie foundations.

(1) *Quod sibi volunt, dum id impetrent, boni sunt: sed id ubi iam penes se habent, ex bonis pessimi & fraudulentissimi sunt.*

Le speranza de fuorusciti, misurate più col desiderio, che con la ragione riscon quasi sempre vanissime.

(2) *Nil tam instabile, quam fama potentia, non sua vi nixa.*

Stulti est fastidire res certas, amplecti ambiguas spes.

Agnoscamus quam parui facienda sunt, huiusmodi hominum qui patria pulsi sunt, promissiones. Nam si fortuna aliam ijs offerat occasionem in patriam redeundi, nec quicquam fidem seruabunt, quicquid tibi promiserint.

Multa tibi promissent ut restituas eos, multa etiam prestare se posse arbitrantur, sed plura etiam adunigunt: ex quibus omnibus, si tu rei bene gerenda spe permoueri te simas, facile ea deduceres, ut ingenti sumptu tuam ipsius ruinam interitumque expetres.

In caducum parietem ne inclina.

Nullus sapientum proditori credidit.

Cuius ruina, te quoque tractura sit.

Plaut.

Guicci. 19.

Tacit.

Petrarch.

Macc disc. 2.

Ibidem.

Hadria.

Senec sent.

Tac. de mor.

Germ.

Lucan. 8.

Sal. bel. Catil.

*Querunt, cum qua gente cadant.**Si Regum atque Imperatorum animi virtus, in pace ita uti in bello valeret, equabilius atq. constantius sese res humana haberent: neque aliud aliò ferri, neque mutari, aut misceri omnia cerneret.*

The Neapolitan fleet altering the first designe which it had vpon the Port of *Genoa*, because they vnderstood it was too well assured, by the comming of the Swisse, & the prouident course which *Zforza* had taken, in drawing out of the Citie such as he most suspected, they now resolute to attempt some place, either vpon the East or West coast. Herein they aduise with the exiles that were in the fleet among them. *Obietto Fiesco* perswades them to attack vpon the East: giues them assurance that hee and his fellowes had many friends on that side. They fall vpon *Porto-Venere*: giue many assaults: lose many of their men, and are repulled. So without hope to carie the place, because they finde none of those seconds promised by *Fiesco*, they turne faile to *Ligorne*, for fresh supplies of victuals and men.

APHORISME XXXIII



*S*ooner (1) may one preuent, then cure a deadly sicknesse; and easilier keepe out, then thrust out an vnwelcome guest. (2) Such a dangerous disease, and bad guest is warre to any countrey: Wise Princes therefore keepe it as farre from home as they can: and neuer quench the fire in their neighbours house, to kindle it in their owne.

Ouid.

Parut. l. 2. disc. 5.

Cic. pro leg. Man.

Ammir. l. 18.

Amm. 2 Liu.

(1) *Perius eijcitur, quam non admittitur hospes.*(2) *Il mantener la guerra nella casa altrui, è sempre utile consiglio: ma più sicuro in quelli che ne sono lontani.**Sedes belli semper miserrima: cuius non aduentus solum, sed etiam metus, affert calamitatem.**Il Duca d'Alua essendo sfidato, & prouocato alla Battaglia, dal Duca di Ghisa, in casa propria (cioè nel regno di Napoli) rispose, che egli non volea in una giornata, auenturar un Regno, per una sopponeste di Broccato.**Hannibal negabat Romanos, nisi in Italia, opprimi posse.*

Pro.

Propinqua Cremonensium mœnia, quanto plus spei ad effugium, tanto minorem ad resistendum, animum dabant.

Tacit. l. 19.

Utrum in Macedoniam legiones transportetis, an hostem in Italiam accipiat, hoc quantum intersit, si unquam aliàs, Punico certè proximo bello experti estis.

Sulp. apud Liu.

Omne bellum sumitur facilè, æzerrimè desinit: nec in eiusdem potestate initium & finis est.

Sallust. Jug.

Hostium vrbes agrisq; ferro atque igni vastentur: Experti iam sumus, fors nobis, quàm domi, feliciora potentioraq; arma esse.

Liu. l. 11.

Plus animi est inferendi periculum, quàm propulsanti.

Liu. l. 8.

The State of *Venice*, solicited by *Alphonso*, that for the common good of *Italie*, she would declare her selfe against the French: or at least let *Zforza* know how ill at his hands she tooke these new motions of warre, to the generall disturbance of the quiet and peace of that countrie; returns this answer: That it is the office of a wise Prince, not to quench the fire in his neighbours house, to kindle it in his owne. The like prudence shewed *Lodowick* in act, that this State deliuered in deliberation. For, such was his vigilancie and prouidence, to prevent that the enemy might not assaile him in *Lombardie* at his owne doores, as that he had sent the French and *Millanese* troupes (led by *d' Aubigni* and Count *Gaiazzo*) into the Popes State of *Romagna*, before the *Arragone*se forces, were halfe way on their iourney: and by this meanes were forced (contrary to their first desaigne) to make the Seate of the warres in *Romagna*, which were first intended for *Lombardie*.

A PHORISME XXXV.



En (1) vsually palliate and couer their vices vnder the cloake and name of some vertue: base couetousnesse they call good husbandrie; and prodigalitie, bountie. They blush not at the fact though they be ashamed of the title. This shewes that the sense of shame is one of the strongest restraints to keepe men from sinne: and the last passion that leaues him. (2) He therefore

fore that is once past this apprehension, lets loose the reins of his owne will, and abandons himselfe to all manner of mischief.

Horat.

(1) *Sic teneros animos aliena opprobria sapē
Absterrent viuis.*

Virg. Æn. 1.

Tum pudor incendit vires, & conscia virtus.

Tacit. An. 1. 4.

Contemptu fama contemnuntur virtutes.

Cic. ep. 15.

(2) *Qui semel verecundia limites transiit, eum gnauiter impudentem esse oportet.*

Eurip.

Maximus omnium morborum, inter homines, impudentia.

Xenophon.

Ἀναισχυρία καὶ τὸν πρῶτον ἀγὰρ ἵππειον. i. Impudens Princeps omnium

rerum pessimus.

Tac. An. 1. 11.

Sed animo per libidines corrupto, nihil honestum inerat,

Seneca.

Vbi non est pudor, ibi nec cura iuris, sanctitas, pietas, fides.

Other actions of Pope Alexander, shew him deuouide of all grace, but he now sheweth himselfe to be likewise past all shame. For, he blusheth not (being the pretended Head of the Church) to send George Bucciar-do a creature of his owne, with Camillo Pandone the messenger of Alphonso, to Baiaseth the great Turke, and professed enemy of Christian religion, for armes and aide against the French king. And rather then his turne should not be serued in time, by the Spanish fleete, which could not yet set forward for want of money; he consents and allowes that that money which was leuied in Spaine by the Authoritie Apostolike, for a Crociata against the Infidels, should most sacrilegiously bee transferred from that holy vse, and employed in this warre of Christians one against another.

APHORISME XXXVI.



Ruth (1) and vertue are rather to be embraced and loued for their owne sakes, then for ours: for that they are good in themselves, not for the good we get by them. (2) Princes therefore, that make no difference betweene truth and falsehood, vertue and vice, but by the vse: care not whom, or how they deceiue or wrong, so they make that vse. (3) The atti-

ons and counsels of such men, as they are tainted in the nature, so are they thwarted in the successe: for they alwaies proue dangerous to those that follow them, but especially to the ginners themselves.

(1) *Recte factorum verus fructus est, fecisse: Nec ullum virtutibus pretium dignum illis, extra ipsas est.*

Ipsa quidem virtus, sibi met pulcherrima merces.

(2) *Septiunt verum falso esse melius, sed virinque dignitatem & præstantiam, ex usu discerni.*

Amicitias, inimicitiasq; non ex re, sed ex commodo aestimare.

Decipiunt verbis, literis, legatis, atque adeo ipsos legatos.

Eos per quos alium fallere cogitant, fallunt.

(3) *Quia bene dispositum terris, ut dignus iniqui Fructus consilij, primis authoribus instet?*

Sape Polypus dum carnem Conchæ captat, ipse capitur.

Praua incæpta, consultoribus noxæ esse, par est.

Ἡ δὲ κατὰ συνέθειαν τοῦ συνέθεντος κακίαν ἴ. Malum consilium, consultori pessimum.

Sape in magistrum, scelera redierunt suum.

Οὐ γὰρ κατὰ συνέθειαν αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ κακίου ἴ. Alieri malum machinatus, sibi ipse machinatur.

Lodowick Zforza had giuen in charge to his agent in Florence, to encourage Peter Medici by all possible meanes, in his strict confederation with the king of Naples, against Charles of France. Some thinke he did it bona fide, because he would vse the French in Italie, but to his owne particular ends. Others suppose he did it out of his malice, to bereaue Medici of all hope of reconciliation with the French. Peter acquaints Alphonso with the matter: who aduiseeth him to make this double dealing of the Millanese, knowne to the King, and so to catch Lodowick in his owne snare. To this effect Medici conueyeth the French Embassadour behind the hangings of his bed-chamber: seines himselfe sicke: sends for the Agent: drawes him by discourse to make full relation of his Masters mind, touching this point. The Embassadour ouer-heares all, and writes home to his king, that he is betrayed by Lodowick. But the French (not apt to beleue what they would not were true, and hoping by this meanes to set those Princes further out)

H

acquaints

Sen. de Clem. l. 1.

Sil l. 13.

Plutarch.

Salust. Cat.

Lip. pol. l. 4.

Sen. Thyest.

Claudian.

Eraf.

Salust. lug.

Hesiod. epy.

Sen. Thyest.

Hesiod.

acquaints *Lodowick* with the matter, and the manner of the discoverie. He, more enraged hereupon with despite and reuenge, both against *Alphonso* and *Medici*, then euer before, instantly sollicites the King, to lose no more time, but with his forces now in readinesse to set vpon *Naples*.

APHORISME XXXVII.



THe (1) discoursing power of the soule, is the most excellent of all her other parts : because the more it conceiueth, and the greater the subiect is, the more purely it apprehendeth, and the more perfectly it comperhendeth. Whereas her other faculties, are, by the difficultie of the obiect, or assiduitie of the intention, dazled, dulled, and stupified. (2) Hence is it, that second considerations & resolutions, are more wise and more safe then the former : because they are grounded vpon reasons, not at first considered.

H' uen euidentis & diuinitatis aduocatus in re opibus aduocatus : alia o uis, utay ti uoisth opibus uoisth uix n'pau uoi tu uoisth uoisth, aduocatus. i. Nam sensus non potest sentire post uehemens sensibile : sed intellectus cum intellexerit aliquid valde intelligibile, nihilominus intelligit inferiora, immo etiam magis.

(2) Nilminus in Duce quam festinationem, conuenire arbitratur : crebro itaque illa tactabat, *αἰνῶς βεγνῶς* : i. festina lentè.

Διτρεῖς γεννῶς σφαιρεῖς i. Secunda cogitationes sunt sapientiores, Omnia non properanti clara, certaq; sunt : festinatio improuida est & caca.

Festinatio hostibus, mora ipsis utilis.

Nullus est idem diuturnus, & praeox fructus.

Scelera impetu, bona consilia morâ ualeant.

Sat citò, si sat benè.

Velox consilium sequitur pœnitentia.

Is quippe solus rei gerendæ est efficax,

Meditatur omne qui prius nego:ium.

Charles the 8. had resolued vpon a voyage for *Naples*. He had prepared two nauies, one at *Genoa*, another at *Marseilles*. He had alreadie sent diuers troupes of horse & foote into *Italy* : the rest were vpon their march. He had setled his affaires at home during his absence. He had

Arist. de anima,
lib. 3.

Sueton. de Aug.
cap. 25.

Scapula.

Lucl. 22.

Tac. hist. l. 2.

Curt. l. 8.

Tac. hist. l. 1.

Pro. Lat.

Senec. sent.

Aulon. tol. 91.

compounded his busines with *Spaine* and the Empire. He is on his way towards *Italy*, as farre as *Dolphenie*. Here, he stickes vpon those points, which before hee neuer called in question. He considers of the ordinary and necessarie difficulties of euery great enterprise : of the dangers to ensue, in case his Italian confederates should not keepe touch with him : and the impossibilitie to carrie so great a businesse with so small store of money, as he presently found himselfe furnished withall. This caused in him an approbation of their opinions, who first dissuaded this warre : a vacillation in the first mouers, and a further pause in himselfe, with a resolution to set no farther forward, till he were better provided of himselfe for the enterprise, and better assured of his Italian confederates.

APHORISME XXXVIII.



LL (1) plants and other creatures, haue their growth and increase to a period, and then their declination and decay : except onely the Crocodile, who euer groweth bigger and bigger, euen till death. (2) So haue all passions and perturbations in mans minde, their intentions and remissions, increase and decrease, except onely malicious reuenge. For this, the longer it lasteth, the stronger it waxeth, and worketh still, euen when the malignant humours of auarice and ambition are settled or spent. (3) Wherefore such fierie spirits as these, apter for inno- uation then administration, are alwaies most dangerous in a State.

(1) *Quidam hoc animal quamdiu uiuit, crescere arbitrantur.*

(2) *Lasciarsi trasportar da gli sdegni, contra il ben publico, è leg- gerezza, anzi sceleratezza.*

*Qual duro freno, o qual serigno nodo,
Qual (s'esser può) catena di Diamante;
Farà, che l'ira serui ordine e modo,
Che non trascorra oltre al prescritto inante.*

— Vengeance,

Qui triste fait cracquer comme un senglier les dents,

Am. Plu. Cic.

Id. Anton.

Am. Plu. Cic.

Lip. pol. l. 3.

Thucyd. l. 1.

Cat. in Sal.

Salust. Jug.

Calpur.

*Herisse ses cheueux, rouë or' ses yeux ardents,
Or' les attache à terre. —*

Desir de vengeance viole nature, & humanité.

Difficile est se despestre des filez d'un malicieux.

*Les Factieux ne peuuent souffrir, qu'on leur face teste, & tascient
de s'en venger avec des armes descouuertes.*

(3) *Non audis quàm gerendis rebus aptiores.*

In id nati, ut nec ipsi quiescant, nec alios sinant.

*Quoniam quidem circumuentus, ab inimicis præcepit agor, incen-
dium meum ruina extinguit.*

*Ira & aegritudo permista cum maxima cura, vltum ire iniurias
festinat.*

*Sceleratis ingenijs, & plus quàm ciuilia agitantibus, non domi-
nari, instar seruitutis est.*

Julian della Rouere a fatall instrument of troubles to his countrie, and the chiefe worker of the broiles in Italie, both now while he is Cardinall, and after when he is Pope, blowes afresh the coales of warre, when they were raked vp in the cold embers of distrust and feare, and almost dead in the heart of the French king: whom he neuer leaues with his importunate instigations, till he had againe set his heart on fire, with the impetuous furie of following his first resolution, against the Pope and kingdome of Naples.

APHORISME XXXIX.



THe (1) nature of the Basiliske, is to kill all trees and shrubs it breathes vpon; and to scorch and burne all hearbes and grasse it passeth ouer. (2) Such are the effects of warre. For, be the title neuer so cleare, and the cause iust, yet the meanes are not without fire and sword: nor the end without horrow and bloudshed. (3) Peace therefore is to be preferred; so it be not with the blemish of the Princes honour, or preiudice of the publike good.

Plin. nat. hist. l. 8.
cap. 31.

Sen. Mer. fur.

(1) *Necat frutices, non contactos modo, verùm & afflatos: exurit
herbas, rumpit saxa.*

(2) *Si aterna semper odia mortales gerant,
Nec captus vnquam cedat ex animi furor;*

Sed

*Sed arma felix teneat, infelix paret :
Nihil relinquent bella. Sum vastis ager
Squallebit armis, subdita tectis face,
Alius sepultas obruet Gentes cinis.*

*Le Désordre, l' Effroy, le Desespoir, la Fuyte,
Aidez marchent deuant son meurtrier Exercite,
Comme l' Embrasement, l' Orgueil, l' Impieté,
La Rage, le Discord, le Sac, l' Impunité,
La Cruauté, l' Horreur, le Degast, la Ruine,
L' accompagnent par tout, ou barbare elle chemine :
Le Dueil, la Solitude, avec la Pauvreté,
Suyuent les pas sanglants, de son Ost indompté.*

(3) *Melior tui torq̃ certa Pax, quàm sperata victoria: Illa, in tua:
hæc, decorum in manu est.*

— *Pax optima rerum,*

*Quas homini nouisse datum est: pax una triumphis
Innumeris potior. —*

*Non cognosce la Pace, & non la stima,
Chi prouato non ha la guerra prima.*

In iustissimam pacem iustissimo bello antefero.

Nulla salus bello, pacem te poscimus omnes.

Candida pax homines, trux decet ira feras.

Non expedit concutere felicem statum.

Bartas fur.

Liu. l. 30.

Sill. 11.

Ariost. cant. 31.

Cic. ad Attic.

Vir. Æn. 11.

Ouid. art. 3.

Senec. Oed.

Charles the 8. was right heire to the house of Anion, and hereby his claime direct to the kingdome of Naples. In this his iust quarrell he passed the Alpes, by the mountaine Gineura, with warre in his heart, and the meanes in his hands. After that, Lewes the 12. entred Italie, to conquer Milan, whereto he also layed claime, and wanne it. The effects of which expeditions were these : Subuersi- on of States : desolation of countries : demolition of townes : occision of people. New lawes: new customes: new habits : new diseases : and all that the extremitie of warre, and the insolencie of a Victor could inflict.

APHORISME XL



Businesse well begun, is halfe ended. Wherefore it much imports, to the happie, or disastrous issue of any affaire, what manner of entrance and beginning we make, especially in that of warre.

For, good successe in the first encounter, greatly aduanceth the maine of our businesse; and takes away both courage and reputation, yea and resolution from the losing side. Herein therefore ought to consist the chiefe cāre of a Generall.

Adag. Eras.
Hor. L. 1. ep. 2.
Pastor. fid.

Pro. Lat.
Pro. in Guic.
Tac. An. 13.
Id. An. 12.

ΠΑΣΘΗΝΑΙ ΜΕΤΗΝ Ι. Dimidium plus toto.

Dimidium facti, qui bene cepit habet.

Chi ben comincia, ha la meta dell' op̃ra,
Et non si comincia ben se non dal cielo.

Bonum principium, dimidium totius.

I successi della Guerra, dependono in gran parte, dalla riputazione.

Fama in nouis ceptis validissima est.

Primis euentibus, metus aut fiducia gignitur.

Don Frederick, after his returne from Porto-Venere to Ligorne, repaires his ships, refresheth his armie, re-enforceth his troupes, returnes: giues vpon Rappallo: carries the place: San Seuerino and Iohn Adorno, with part of the land-forces, and the Duke of Orleans, with a thousand Swisse, by sea (drawne all out of Genoa) make to the succours, to impeach the enemies further proceeding: They assaile the Arragonesse with excellent resolution. These receiue their first impressiō, with no lesse valour. Victorie stands long as neuter, vnresolved to which side to incline: vntill at length the artillery from the ships playing vpon the Neapolitans in flank, and fore galling them, and the alarme of Iohn Fiescos approach with fresh supplies to the French, disorders their troupes, and puts them to rout. Iulian Orsin a commander of a troupe of Lances, Fregosino the sonne of Cardinall Fregoso, and Orlandino of the same house, with many moe men of marke, are taken prisoners: more slaine: some drowned: the rest recouer their shippes. Don Frederick himselfe, with his broken troupes, beares backe againe for Ligorne: where,

where, though he had prouided himself of new supplies, and new matter of attempt was propounded to him, yet durst he neuer after vndertake any; but quite abandons the coast of *Genoa*, and giues the enemy iust cause to triumph ouer his losse, and insult ouer his feare.

APHORISME XLI.



E (1) that entertaines an armie of Auxiliaries, takes a Wolfe by the eares: there is danger in holding him, and more in letting him go. And in a State where Legions are ordained, the Subiect will be liable to any taily or imposition, rather then suffer such troupes to be quartered or billeted vpon them. (2) A wise Prince therefore, albeit he must vse their seruice, yet he will buy their absence though at a great rate, and vse all possible meanes to keepe them farre off.

(1) *Auribus Lupum tenere.*

(2) *Le but d'un bon Prince est, de chasser les soldats loin de terres de ses Suiets, & Alliez.*

C'est estre un bon Capitaine, d'empescher que la guerre n'entre en son pais, & n'y permettre pas la longue demeurée d'une Armée, voire de ses bons amis & alliez.

Venalisq; manus, ibi fas ubi maxima merces.

Non fide, non affectu tenentur, ut velint dominationi aliena sanguinem suum commodare.

Sunt Populatores terra, quam à populationibus vindicare debebant. Verè Hirundines Ararj.

Qui canem alit peregrinum, huic præter funem nihil sit reliqui.

Neque Principes neque Resp. sine periculo uti posse auxiliario ac mercenario milite.

In the moneth of September, the Dukes of *Millan* & *Ferrara*, come to the French king at *Asti*, a frontier towne of the Duchie of *Millan*. They treat of their great affaires: and resolute of the manner of proceeding, and carrying the warre. The *Millanese* fearing (if winter grew vpon them) that the French armie would not dislodge, but lie vpon his country all the winter, till the next Spring: supplies

Pro Lat.

Am in Plut.
Agessil.

Idem, Phocion.

Lucan.

Tac Agric.

Curt. l. 3.

Cic. ad Attic.

Erasfol. 293.

Mac. dif. l. 2.

cap 20.

supplies the King presently with great summes of money (the onely cause of his staying) for his more speedie departing. And so got his countrie eased of so heauie a burthen.

APHORISME XLII.



Orth (1) is valued by the qualitie, not the greatnesse of a thing. For, as the goodnesse of a fortresse consisteth rather in this, that the parts be one to another conformable, and in distance answerable, then that they be vnproportionably great and capacious: (2.) So the strength of an armie, stands more in the valour, and good order of the combattants, then in the number. Against which number, are these two principall aduantages, great Ordinance, and good Ordonnance.

Rag. Stat. l. 9.

Lip. poll. 5.

Senec.

Synec. ep. 79.

Galba in Ta.

Veget. l. 1. c. 8.

Tacit. An. 14.

Valer. l. 2. c. 7.

Cuspin. 34.

Boetius.

(1) Si come la bontà d' una Fortezza, consiste più nella forma che nella materia: Così la forza d' un Essercito, sta più presto nell' ordine, che nel numero ò altera cosa.

(2) Nunquam bonos fortissq. Milites habebis, nisi hac duo velut instrumenta adhibeas. Delectum & Disciplinam.

Multitudo non vires habet, sed pondus.

Ἐκ πολλῶν δὲ πολὺν πλεονέκτησιν, ἐκ ὀλίγων τὸν πολλόν. i. Manibus multis, non nominibus, opus est in bello.

Peccant hic qui emunt militem, non legunt.

In omni Conflictu, non tam prodest multitudo, quam virtus.

Etiam in multis legionibus, pauci sunt qui prelia profligant.

Disciplina Maiorum, Rempub. tenet: Quae si dilabatur, & nomen Romanum, & Imperium amittimus.

Disce miles militare, Galba est, non Getulicus.

Sic quod praecipiti via

Certum deserat ordinem,

Latos non habet exitus.

The French had this oddes vpon the enemy, they brought great store of Canon with them: an instrument of warre scarce heard of in Italie, and therefore more feared. As for the men at armes, (which were all des Ordonnances du Roy) they were not of the populace and

and vulgar sort, but of the noblesse or gentry. Their troupes full; and in good equipage of horse and armes: Men, out of their owne birth and education, caried to all noble attempts, through desire of honour, and hope of advancement: Their Commanders great Lords, and but of hundreds at the most: All naturall subiects to their Chiefe, and himselfe among them in person: and they vnder his pay immediately, and therefore in no danger to quit their colours, either through ambition or auarice: nor in feare of concurrence or competition with other Captaines, to be aduanced to a greater conduct or charge. Whereas on the other side, many of the Italian men at armes, were either Pesants or Plebeians, or vassals to other Princes, wholly depending vpon their own Captaines, with whom they couenanted for their entertainment, and in whose power it was to casse, or keep them: so as neither by nature, nor circumstance, they had any extraordinary motiue to performe good seruice. Besides, the Captaines themselues, being seldome his naturall subiects, who entertained them, had their proper ends, full of ieaiousie, and heart-burnings one with another: and being mercenary, neuer had their companies strong; and often proued not onely vnconstant, but vnfaithfull to them they serued.

APHORISME XLIII.



AN (1) In-mate lodged in the middle stage of a building, is troubled with noise, and fall of vrine, or other filth, from them that dwell aboue him: or with smoake, from them in the nether roome. In such straits, is the Neuter, and so he fareth between two Princes vp in armes. (2) This third therefore, a confiner, and weaker then either; as he must of necessity adhere to the one: so ought he deferre to declare himselfe, till the times be fit.

Ammir. l. 18.

Pro. Ital.

Virg. eclog. 9.

Lucan. de Arim.
lib. 1.

Liu. l. 34.

Liu. l. 19.

Arist. in Liu.

Macc. Pün. c. 21.

Boter. de Neutral.

Quint. in Liu. 35.

Mac. Pr. c. 21.

(1) Detto del Re Alphonso contra i Sanesi, neutrali nella guerra d'Italia: & poi da' Soldati dell' una Fazione & dell' altra, predati.

Questi tali sono tra l' incudine, e'l martello. Inter Saxum & Sacrum,
Mantua, va misera nimium vicina Cremona.

O malè vicinis haemania condita Gallis,

O tristi damnata loco.

(2) Inter utrumque neuter, non media via est, sed nulla.

Ita medium se gerendo, nec Plebis vitans odium Seruilium, nec
apud Patres gratiam inijs: Appius vero Patribus mirè gratus.

Romanos aut socios habere oportet, aut hostes: media via nulla est.

Si inter se duo potentes confligant, tuam qui attingunt regionem,
qualescunque illi fuerint, siue quod altero debellato, tibi sis à victore
timendum, siue non, vtilius semper erit, si te patefacto apertum bel-
lum geras.

E' meglio cader con vn compagno, o mettersi in auventura di vin-
cere, dichiarandosi, che à certezza di restar oppresso da' chiunque vin-
cerà l' impresa, non si dichiarando.

Quod optimum esse dicunt, non interponi vos bello, nihil tam va-
num, immò tam alienum, rebus vestris est: quippe sine gratia, sine
dignitate prada victoris eritis.

Quod optimum, atque ex usu vestrae Reip: (Achiuorum) maximè
fore isti Legati Antiochi dicunt (ne vos scilicet hoc nostro bello im-
plicemini) nihil est quod vobis magis sit contrarium.

The Colonnese, whose Seignories and States lay neare the king of Naples, (and therefore in danger, vnlesse they entred into a partie) had secretly contracted with the French king. Alphonso solicites them to his side, by all possible meanes. They delay him, with asking vnreasonable demands. He grants all they can desire. They temporize yet longer, still bearing him in hand, of their willingnesse to quit the French seruice, & follow his fortunes, till d' Aubigni with all his troups was come down into Lombardie. Now they declare themselves. They surprise the strong rocke of Ostia, through intelligence they had with some Spaniards in the place. They valiantly defend Nettuno a Port of their owne, besieged by the ioynt forces of the Pope and Alphonso. They are presently relieued, and the siege raised by Camillo Vitelli, & his Brother, whom the French sent to that service. Whereas if they had broke our any sooner, those forces of the enemie must needs haue ouerthrowne them, before these succours could haue come at them.

APHORISME XLIII.



Here (1) is no warrant to runne an extreame hazard, save only extreame necessity. (2) And therefore a wise Generall neuer puts his fortunes vpon one dayes triall, nor ventures all his rest, vpon one doubtfull chance of battell: where he foresees by all military induction, that he may obtaine his purpose without blowes.

(1) *De vita & regno velut ad casum Alea periclitari, stultitia est, & vanitatis.*

Capienda non nisi rebus in arduis, praecepta via est.

Nulla loco nisi quantum necessitas cogit, committat se fortuna.

Paulus Aemilius dixit, peritio nimis bonum Imperatorem, signis collatis decertare, nisi summa necessitudo, aut summa ei occasio data esset.

Sono incertissime più che tutte gl'altre attioni humane, gl'euenti della battaglia.

(2) *Pridie caueat, ne faciat quod se pigeat postridie.*

Animus vereri qui scit, scit ius aggredi.

Nec tristibus impar,

Nec pro successu timidus, spaciumq; morandi,

Vincendiq; modum, mutatis nescit habenis.

Fortunam inter dubia, virtutem inter certa numerare.

The two armies, French and Neapolitan, are come downe into Romagna: yong Ferdinand marcheth toward Imola, where the enemy was encamped. D'Aubigni retires betweene the wood of Lugo and Columbara, neare the trenches of Geniuolo, a very strong place. The Neapolitan Prince finding the disaduantage, dislodgeth from Imola to Toscanella. D'Aubigni vpon the others rising remoues againe towards Imola: sets downe vpon the Riuer Santerno, betweene Lugo and S. Agatha: hauing the Po at his backe, a site stronger then the former. The enemy comes vpon the same riuer, neare Mordano and Bubano; and in ranged order of battell, presents himself to fight. D'Aubigni would not out of his strength: the other durst not force him, but retires to Barbiano. By this time a great supply of Souldiers are come to

Stobaeus.

Seneca.

Iulij. 11.

Agell. Noct. 13. cap. 3.

Guice

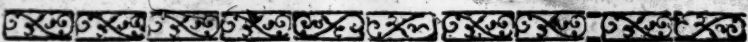
Plaut. Stich.

Publ.

Claudian.

Tacite de Ger.

the French. They are now as strong as the enemy, yet still they refuse to try their fortunes: and so do now the Neapolitans also. They both persuade themselves to have obtained the end of their coming thither: for Ferdinand had impeached the French army from taking any towns in Romagna; and stopped his farther proceeding for that year. And d' Aubigni came for no other end, but to hinder the Neapolitan army from invading Lombardy.



APHORISME XLV.

74



S (1) poison is of such force, that it corrupteth both blood and spirit, besieging, seizing, and infecting the heart with the venomous contagion thereof, quite altering the complexion and disposition of the man that hath drunk it:

(2) So the pestiferous desire of Sovereignty, though it seize on a mind of mild and mansuetude disposition, yet it is of such forcible operation, as it not only altereth mans nature, but maketh man unnatural.

Grecin. l. 1.

Cic.

Virg.

Seneca.

Liu. l. 1. 8.

Salust. Jug.

Parut. l. 2. dis. 15.

(1) Venenum precipue insidiatur cordi.

(2) Facillime ad res iniustas impellitur, quisquis est altissimo animo. & gloria cupido.

Regnandi Dira cupido.

Vrit miserum gloria pectus.

Maximum cupiditas imperij malum, inter mortales est.

Fama, fidei, postremo omnibus rebus, commodum suum anteponunt.

L' Ambizione è tale infirmità, ne gl' animi humani, che one una volta ha fermato le radici, se non è à viva forza & per necessità suelta, non gli lascia mai liberi & sani: Anzi col tempo crescendo il male, gli rende quasi farnetici: sì che ogni cosa l' ambizioso appetisce, & di niuna si troua satollo, non hauendo misurane freno.

— L' Ambizioso

Ha la natura sì seluagica & rra
Che mai non empie la bramosa voglia,
Ed oppo il pasto ha più fame che pria.

Boetius con.

Hen grauem sortem, quoties iniquum
Additur sano gladius veneno?

Hen

—*Heu dulce venenum*
Et mundi lethalis bonos.—

Math. Supp. in
Ving.

Lodowick Zforza a man naturally inclining to mildnesse, and abhorring bloudshed, was by Ambition so farre carried beyond his nature, as he spared not the life of his owne nephew and Liege Lord, who was taken away by poison, as *Theodore di Pauia* a Physitian of good esteeme, protested: and by his vnnaturall Vnkle, as the world verily beleeued. The chiefe Counsellors of that State, were suborned by him (vnder pretence forsooth of the dangerous times) to transferre the Soueraigntie of that State vpon him. He, for fashions sake seemed vnwilling to vndertake so great a charge, and made semblance of disabilitie to vndergoe so weightie a burthen. But this pretence was without all colour, to them which truly considered his former courses, and vnderstood how he had trafficked with the Emperour long before to that purpose.

APHORISME XLVI.



Ho (1) puts to sea for a long iourney, and at a great charge, must resolute hold on his course, against all winds and weather, or accidents, that may offer to stoppe him. So a Prince farre engaged in a great action, must wastle with all difficulties, rather then quit the enterprize. Better it were to foresee the dangers at first, and preuent them, or desist from the motion. (2) But being once embarqued, on he must, whether he winne or lose, with a *Cesarian* confidence at the *Rubicon*, and a *Spartan* resolution, to goe on with the sword, or fall on the sword. For in this, he puts his fortunes vpon triall: but in the other, is manifest shame and losse.

(1) *Verum si incipias, neque perficias guaniter, nibilo plus agas, quam si des operam, ut cum ratione insanias. (hac ille de amore, idem de bello.)*

Terent. Eun.

Mars communis, & victum saepe erigit, & affligit victorem.
Τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ νικῶν καὶ νικητὴν ἔγειρεται καὶ ἀφίγει. i. *Pugnare necesse est, seu paratus, seu imparatus.*

Lial. 18.

Senat. Græc.

Egecl. 4. c. 2.

Flor. l. 1. c. 2.

Sil. l. 1.

Plut. apoph.

Pro. Hisp.

Infirmi ingenij est, summa rei diffidere, lapsa aliquo: cum exiguis momentis subito inclinentur omnia, quæ in bello geruntur.

Omnia experiri oportet, more Anginum, qui obrito capite, postremo caudâ manantur.

Et fractis rebus, violention ultima virtus.

H' τὸν, ὃ ἐν τῷ. Aut hanc, aut super hanc. Laconicarum mulierum dictum, viris suis in bellum proficiscentibus.

Oz ar morir da la vida.

The French King is come to Placentia: hee wanteth money: he discouers no revolt, or innouation in his fauour: he hath certaine intelligence, that Zforza (for all his protestations) will come no more at him. His whole Court hath in suspicion the faith, and in horror the fact of this Duke, committed upon his nephew. They think the King greatly abused, and his honour scandalized, whose comming into those parts, countenanced and secured so abominable a parricide. They all perswade his present returne into France. The King stands a while like the Romane at the Riuer, in dispute what to doe. But at last resolues to goe on howsoeuer he speed.

APHORISME XLVII.



En (1) in disgrace with the State, and dislike of the present times, seeke their reuenge from the common enemy. Who likes well of their motion, accepts their offer of seruice and meanes, and embraceth the action: (2) Not for their good that moue it, but because hee findes it

stand with his owne aduantage.

(1) *Miscere omnia, & prinata vulnera, Reip. malis operire statuunt.*

Pars, quæ domestico certamine inferior est, externo potius se applicat, quàm ciui cedat.

Honores quos quieta Repub. desperant, perturbata consequi posse arbitrantur.

Les traistres sont bien venus, pres de ceux, qui tirent grand profit de leurs trahisons.

Tousiours les mutins veulent auoir moyen de se nourrir en ses insolences.

(2) Pro-

Tac. hist. Ly.

Lm. l. 34.

Cic. Cat. 2.

Am. Ph. Artax.

Am. Ph. Dion.

(2) *Proditores, etiam ijs quos anteponunt, iniuri sunt.*

Leui post admissum scelus gratia, dein grauiore odio.

Προδοῦντες οὐδὲν, ἀντιπροδοῦντες: μῶνις: i. Amare se prodentes, odisse vero quam prodiderint. — dixit:

Tac. An. l. i.

Tac. An. l. i. 4.

Ant. g. pud
Plut.

Laurence and Iulian Medici, confined to their houses in the country, steale ouer the *Appennine*, to the French king. They sollicite him to march with his armie through the Florentine State, in his way to *Naples*. They assure him of the peoples deuotion, and their owne particular affection and seruice to the Crowne of *France*. The King might haue taken the way of *Romagna*: so by the Marquisate of *Ancona*, and ouer the riuier *Tronto*: thence into *Abbruzzo*, a Prouince of the kingdome. For the forces that *Alphonso* had that way, were scarce able to make head against his Van-guard led by d' *Aubigny*. Yet vpon this motion he resolues vpon the way by *Toscana*, and the territories of *Rome*: holding it more for his honour, with banner displayed to march through the heart of his enemies countries, then to giue them occasion to vaunt, that feare had driuen him another way. Besides, he held it a chiefe principle of warre, not to carrie his armie so farre, and to leaue at his backe those places vnassured.

77

APHORISME XLVIII.



He Orator placeth his strongest arguments in the first entrance of his Plea, to perswade and confirme the audiorie. So should a Generall bend all his best forces vpon the first piece hee attempteth, to animate and encourage his soldiers, and to giue reputation to the action he intendeth. For first actions make deepest impressions, either of feare or courage. He is therefore so much to tender his reputation at the first onset, as to leaue nothing behind him vnbroken, but that which bendeth.

Instandum fama: nam prout prima cesserint, succedent vniuersa.

La riputazione & la fama, importano assai in ogni nostra operatione, ma principal mente, nelle cose della guerra.

Principibus praecipua rerum, ad famam dirigenda.

Tacit. l. 12.

Parut. l. 1. disc. 2.

Tac. An. l. 3.

Fama

Curt. l. 8.

Liu. l. 37.

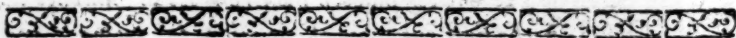
Tacit. An. 3.

Plat. Græc.

L. Phocion.

*Fama bella constant.**Fama bellum conficit, & parua momenta in spem, me: umve, impellant animos.**Non minus fama, quàm vi, stant res Principum.**Estre en bonne opinion entre ses ennemys, sert plus que grande force.**La bonne reputation d'un Chef, est cause d'un grand bien pour son armée.*

The French armie is come into *Toscany*; by the nether way of *Pontremoli*, which standeth at the foot of the mountaines vpon *Magra*, (a riuer that diuides this Country from *Liguria*) it is to passe by *Serezana*, a towne well fortified, but the garison weake, and the Gouvernour of small authority, and lesse credit. *Serezanello* a rock right ouer the towne, was a peece impregnable, if it had been well manned: seated in a barren strait, betweene the *Appennine* and the Sea; by which meanes it did much pinch and angustiate the army with want of victualls. The King might haue left these two Peeces vnattempted, and made a maine forward on his iourney for *Naples*, either by *Pisa*, or some other important place in the Florentine State, and haue taken them in, by the way. But he, to giue reputation to his armie, & to make the world thinke, that no place of strength was able to stand before him; or, lest others should take heart to oppose him, by this example; he sets downe before the place, with full resolution not to depart, till the siege were raised, or the place caried.



APHORISME XLIX.



IN (1) the Salentine country, there is a lake brim-full: put in neuer so much, it runneth not ouer; draw out what you can, it is still full. (2) Such is the nature of a constant man, resolved to all fortunes. (3) Where-as the man who beares his prosperity, neither with moderation nor prudence, but is full blowne like a bladder, with the winde of his owne pride; he seldome

seldome in aduersitie shewes either constancie or courage: one pricke of defaster empties his swolne heart of all hopes: and like an vnskilfull and deiected sea-man, vpon euery little storme hee cuts Cable and Mast, and throwes all ouer boord; where, but the slaking of some few sailes would serue.

(1) In Salentino, iuxta oppidum Manduriam, lacus est ad margines plenus: qui neque exhaustis aquis minuitur, neque infusus augetur.

Plin. nat. hist. l. 2. c. 103.

(2) Is demum vir erit, cuius animum nec prospera status suo effrauent: nec aduersa infringant.

Liu. l. 45.

Aquam memento rebus in arduis
Sernare mentem: non secus in bonis
Ab insolenti temperatam letitia.

Hor. 2. car. 3.

Si nihil possis sperare, desperes nihil.

Seneca.

(3) Calamitas querula est & superba felicitas.

Liu. lib. 44.

Rebus secundis auidi, aduersis incanti.

Tacit. An. l. 1.

Sunt molles in calamitate, mortalium animi.

Tacit. l. 1.

Quem res plus nimio delectauerit secunda

Horat.

Mutata quatiens. —

Casibus aduersis fracta qui mente recumbis,
Fortuna ignorat dexteriore frui.

Fault.

Humilis & parvus animus, prosperitatibus effertur: aduersis autem rebus deprimitur.

Epicar.

Εὐτυχεῖν ἀνίστημι, ἀπὸ τοῦ ταπεινῆς. Superbiens secundis, deiectus aduersis.

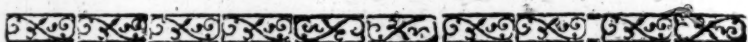
Thucyd.

Πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ταπεινοτέρους κατεπαινεῖται, καὶ τοὺς ὑψηλότερους: οὐδὲν δὲ τοὺς ἀνίστημι κατὰ τὴν φύσιν. i. Aduersus inferiores seuerus maximè, & superbus, erga superiores imprimis adulator.

Polyb.

Peter Medici vpon no imminent necessitie, nor apparent good to the State, had tied himselfe to Alphonses fortunes: had scornfully reiected the counsell of the grauer Citizens: had desperately prouoked the armes and enmitie of France and Millan against him: had imprudently fore-slaked the fortifying of his countrey, and making sure the passages: had improuidently fore-slowed the raising of souldiers, & prouision of armes: had slept supinely in all carelesnesse, and boasted vainly in his securitie. But now that the wheele is turned, the French forces at his doores, to Arragonese succours farre off, and himselfe destitute of all possible and present helpe: hee seekes that at his enemies hands, which he could not
K haue

haue of his friends : he buyes his Peace, and the protection of his State, in a submisſe and humble manner, and at a high and hard rate : he renders vp *Serezana*, *Serezanello*, and *Pietra Santa*, for caution of his faith, till the Kings returne from his conquest of *Naples* : he vnder-takes to procure him the Imprest of one hundred thousand Duckats, out of the citie of *Florence*; and to conſigne the fortrefſes of *Piſa* and *Ligorne* into his hands. And more would *Medici* haue granted, if the King had demanded more : who ere while would haue beene glad of his friendship, and alliance with that State, vpon farre eaſier termes.



APHORISME L.



O Ne (1) miſchiefe or loſſe comes ſeldome alone, but followes like billowes, one in the necke of another. In which Tide of miſfortune, men are in few dayes more ouerwhelmed with the waues of damage and trouble, then they can (after) free themſelues of, in the ebbe of many yeares. And therefore they crie out on their Starres, and raile at Fortune, who is ſo barren of her fauours, and fruitfull otherwiſe : Whereas the ſtarres may rather complainē of them, who are neuer with any good fortune ſatisfied, nor by many diſaſtrous accidents warned. (2) But wiſe men (in this ſenſe) do gouerne the ſtarres.

(1) *Finis alterius mali, gradus eſt futuri.*

Il più delle volte, l' Auverſità, non vanno ſola,

I mali, non vengono mai ſcompagnati.

Vim fortuna reputa, & omnia quæ agimus, ſubiecta eſſe mille caſibus.

Quotidiè experimur, quàm caduca ſclicitas ſit.

Cuncta mortalium incerta; quantoq; plus adeptus ſis, tanto magis in lubrico te cenſeas.

*Quem dies vidit veniens ſuperbum,
Hunc dies vidit fugiens iacentem.*

Si toſt que l' auverſité a commencé à ſaiſir vn homme au colet, elle continue ſes ſeconſſes, par les quelles il ne tombe pas à la premiere, ni à la ſeconde; mais en fin il eſt conſtraint, de prendre le ſaut.

(2) *Sapiens poſe ſibi fingit fortunam ſibi.*

Sapiens dominabitur aſtris.

Fortuna

Sen.

Guicé

Guazz.

Liu. l. 30.

Curr. l. 8.

Tacit. An. 1.

Sen. Thieſt.

Am. Plut. Agis.

Plaut. Trin.

Pro. Lat.

Fortuna ius in hominis mores non habet.

Fatum congruere rebus putant, sed non è vagis stellis, verum apud principia & nexus naturalium causarum.

Si in secundis rebus bonam quoq; mentem darent Dii, non ea solum qua euenissent, sed etiam qua euenire possent, reputaremus.

Senec. sent.

Tacit. An. l. 6.

Liu. l. 30.

Alphonso had failed in the oppugnation of *Nettuno*: his Sea-forces were sore shaken at *Porto-Venere*; and forced to abandon the enterprize of *Liguria*. His strict allie *Medici* had forsaken him, and made his peace with the French. So did *Riario* the Lord of *Imola* and *Furlì*. He had lost the strong towne of *Mordano*: & his army in *Romagna* much weakened in that fruitlesse voyage, was retired by the way of *Rome*, into the kingdome of *Naples*. These disasters succeeded immediately one in the neck of another: and then the flight from his kingdome, the catastrophe and full summe of all his misfortunes.

APHORISME LI.



*N*solent (1) cariages, in the most eminent person of a free-State, against any particular man or familie, are long with patience endured, and by his popularitie and dependance of friends strongly borne out. (2) But when his errors come once to touch the publike, and preiudice the generall good of the Common wealth, then every member is sensible of the wrong, and puts a helping hand to his downe-fall.

(1) Tales isti potentiã suam non bene ferunt, & ideo nec diũ ferunt.

Parcè utere potestate tua, ut diũ utare.

Vide ne dum ad cacumen venire contendis, unã cũ ipsis ramis quos deprehendis, decidas.

Vide ne quanto altius elatus es, hoc sãdius corrũas.

In secundis rebus, nihil in quemquam superbè ac violenter consulere decet, nec præsenti credere fortunæ, cũ quid vesp̃er ferat, incertũ sit.

Impone felicitati tue frenos, facilius eam reges.

Arbores magna diũ crescunt, una hora extirpantur.

(2) Non si può dar preceito meglio, quando si vuole rimediare à uno intonementente, il quale sia sorto in uno Stato, per la molta potenza

Lip. pol. l. 3.

Sen. de ira.

Curt.

Liu. l. 21.

Liu. l. 45.

Curt. l. 7.

Scyth. Alex.

Ammin. l. 5.

Plat. de Leg. l. 1. 2.

Cic. 4. Att. 1.

Plato.

Hail. Est. l. 2.

Idem l. 3.

Et autorità d'alcuno, che di moxargli quelli mezzi & istromenti, per i quali, egli à quella autorità perveniva.

Εὰν τις ἰδὲν μὴ τῶν κοινῶν ἀλλὰ τοῦ αἰσίου, ἢ τοῦ κακοῦ, αἰὲν οὐ κοινῶν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ αἰσίου ἢ κακοῦ, ἴδῃ.
i. Si quis priuatim, sine publico Scito, pacem, bellumve fecerit, capitale esto.

Pinnas his incidas oportet, ne possint renasci.

Populus leuiter alicuius rei satur, & qui in huius societatem se adiungit, miser est.

La Fureur des peuples est à craindre, à ceux qui sont leurs Chefs, si en tant il ne leur complaisent.

*Il sentis bien, que la foy des peuples sent mal, & qu'il ne faut se par-
 fumer de drogue si puante.*

Infinite had been the insolencies and transgressions of Peter Medici, towards diuers particular citizens, and those of the Nobilitie, and better sort, yet he still held his greatness: till now that he had made a contract of peace and amitie with the French king, most preiudiciall to his country: without the consent of other Magistrates and chiefe Citizens, decree of the Counsell, or commission from the State. This wound could in no wise be salued: the whole citie condemnes it: his friends durst not excuse him: the commons stirre vp one another to recouer their libertie: *Iacob Neri* keeps him out of the Counsel-chamber offering to come in. The Citie riseth in armes: the Senate proclaimes him rebell: he flyeth with his two brethren *Iohn* and *Iulian*: leauing the noble family of the *Medici* ouerthrowne, by the insolency and rashnesse of one yong man, which for threescore yeeres together had had chiefe stroke in the manage of those publike affaires, and for many yeeres before had flourished in all fulnesse of wealth and reputation.

APHORISME LII.



T (1) is then sure trusting, when we take from a man all meanes of breaking. For the prouerbe saith, that a true man can scarce hold his fingers if he finde a chest open. (2) As therefore it is a stain to the honour of a Prince, not to keepe his word

word and couenant : (3) So is it nolesse blemish to the wise-
dome of a State, in time of inst suspect, not to preuent and stop
the meanes of breaking it : or not to take pledges of the discon-
tented and suspected subiect, as well in such iealous times, as
formerly in cases of lesse danger.

(1) Satis est si hoc habemus, ne quis nobis malefacere possit.

Multorum, quia inhaerilla sunt, latent vitia : non minus ausuri
cum illis vires sua placuerint.

A cassa aperta il ginto pecca.

(2) Reges, ne rumpitis fœdera pacis : nec Regnis postferre fidem.

(3) Dulcis inexportis entura patetis amici,

Expertus metuet.

Aliquis suspectum habent, Regum nomen, ut fraudulentum in pacti-
onibus.

Num quaquam soli possunt prodesse potentes,

Non profunt, potius plurimum obesse solent.

Nulla ciuitatibus aduersus tyrannos melior cautio est, diffidentia.

Aut hoc inclusi ligno, &c. Aut hec in nostros, &c. Aut aliquis
latet error, &c.

Quicquid id est, timea Bapags.

Nec, si credideris, quantum cito credere ledat.

Aug in Suet c2 51
Sen.ep.42.

Pro Ital.
Sill 132.
Horat.

Dion.Halyt.

Ouid.trist.2.

Plut.seip. ger. 821.
Vide, Virg.
Æn. 12.

Senec.ep.3.

Charles the 3. is come to Pisa : he findes the citizens
groaning vnder the Florentine yoke, and imploring his
Maieftie to redresse their wrongs, and free them of their
seruitude. The King grants their desire, contrary to the
late articles concluded at Serezana : where, this towne
was consigned into his hands, for caution onely, till his
returne from Naples : and then to be surrendred vp a-
gaine. The Pisanes (vnder protection of the King) take
armes, pull downe the ensignes of Florence in euery
place of the citie, and re-assume their libertie. The Flo-
rentines (who vpon all former occasions had beene ie-
alous of the Pisanes loyaltie, and doubtfull of their reuolt)
had not in such a time of danger as this, brought away
their chiefe citizens, nor put a strong garnison of stran-
gers into the towne, as in all good policie they ought to
haue done.

APHORISME LIII.



Onius (1) chose rather to lose all his honours and fortunes, then to quit his Opall ring to Anthonie. Of such a price, but a farre fairer ieuell is Libertie: a thing so sweet and precious, as it deserves the selling of all we haue, and running into any hazard. (2) Yet, not in equitie to be attempted against a lawfull Soueraigne: or in reason, where the possibilitie to hold it, is not so great as the meanes to get it.

Hail. est. l. 2.

Idem alibi.

Guicc.

Bodin. de
rep. lib. 5.

Tercet. Adel.
Tac. An. 16.

Tacit. hist. 41

Claudian.

(1) La Liberté est un breuvage, qui empoisonne les entendemens des hommes.

Le nom de Liberté, est la plus belle, la plus douce, & la plus rompereuse chose du monde.

(2) E' permesso à ciascuno, & desiderat di venir à meglia fortuna: Ma deue anco ciascuno tollerare quello, che la sorte gli ha dato.

Quoy qu' un dit, que soit, loisible, de s' exempter de la subiection de son Seigneur, s'il est maltraitté: Cela s'entend de l'arrier vassal, qui a recours à son Seigneur Souverain, & non pas du vassal lige.

Nimia licentia semper enadit in aliquod magnum malum.

Quidam, ut imperium euertant, libertatem praserunt: si peruerterint, ipsam aggredientur.

Ne contumaciam cum perniciē, potius quā obsequium cum securitate, malis.

Fallitur egregio quisquē sub Principe credit
Sernitum: Nunquā libertas gravior extat,
Quā sub Rege pio.

The Duke of Milan had plotted the reuolt of Pisa, with certaine banished citizens: holding this the best and most compendious way for him to in-signorize himselfe of that towne: though indeed it after proued the very source of all his misfortunes. These mal-contented like the motion, enter into the action, and preuaile: not considering the weaknesse of the ciue, how it was dispeopled, how the remainder was impouerished: nor weighing the riches and forces of the Florentines, and their determinate resolution, neuer to quit it. They called not into consideration the certaintie of a continuing warre, and the vncertaintie of their fleeting friends. And lastly,

lastly, that no other Prince would imbarke himselfe into their troubles and charge, except it were to make himselfe absolute Lord ouer them: with many other difficulties, which after appeared, accompanied with their owne extreme calamitie.

APHORISME LIIII.



Hile (1) the Crocodile sleepes gaping with open month, the Indian Rat shootes himselfe into his belly, and gnawes his guts in sunder: (2) So entreth Mischiefe at the open gates of Securitie. Selfe-conceited confidence in our owne strength, and ouer-weening credulitie of anothers honestie, begets in men this supine negligence. (3) But a watchfull prouidence preuents an imminent danger.

(1) *Crocodilus fauces semper esculento ore, in littore somno datus, Trochilum inuitat, ad percipiendum dentes. In qua voluptate somno pressum conspicatus, apprehendit, per easdem fauces, ut telum aliquod immissus, erodit aluum.*

Plin. nat. hist. l. 8.
c. 35.

(2) *Inter Scopulos quibus illidi ac frangi Reip. Nauis solet, prima mihi fiducia occurrit.*

Lip. poll. 3.

Tales isti, contempendis, quam cauendis hostibus, aptiores.

Tac. hist. l. 4.

Multi, dum se tam magnos quam audiunt, credunt, attraxere supernaculum, & indiscrimen rerum omnium peruentura bella.

Sen. de Ben. l. 6.
c. 30.

Præproperi & feroces semper incauti, gratum vulgo: Nam stolidas aut barbaris, cunctatio vilis.

Lip. Pol. l. 5.

Mel' ἀπολαύειν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, ὡς τὸ πρὶν ἰδὲν ἰσχυροῦς ἐστι. Cum supina fiducia sententiam dant, in re ipsa trepidantes deficiunt.

Thucyd. l. 1.

(3) *Nimis homo nihil est, qui piger est. Nam vigilare decet hominem, qui vult sua tempore conficere negotia.*

Plaut. Rud.

Metiri sua regna decet, viresq. fieri.

Lucan. 9.

Quicquid est incoctum, non expromunt, bene coctum duunt.

Plaut. mil. gl.

Πιστὴς δὲ ἀπὸ πάντων ἡ ἀπιστία ὡς τὸν ἀπὸ πᾶσιν. Credulitas pariter ac diffidentia, perdidit homines.

Hesiod. l. 1.

Charles the 8, as a late reconciled friend with Florence, approacheth the Citie with his whole armie. For d' Aubigny is newly come to him by commandement, with all

all the troupes he had in Romagna : onely, for his more speed, he had left his artillerie at *Castro Caro*. The King enters *Florence*, armed, on horsebacke, with his Lance on his thigh. He layes claime to the citie by the law of armes, because he had entred it in warlike manner. The State fore-saw this his ambition, but durst not denie his entrance : yet, to preuent the worst, they had formerly and prouidently giuen order, to fill the chiefe places of the towne (besides many priuate houses) with armed souldiers : that vpon any sodaine tumult, the great Bell of the Pallace should be rung, and that vpon this alarme, both these souldiers lodged within, and others quartered neare about the citie, to this purpose, should come to the rescue. Which prouisions so well made, when they were knowne to the King, he presently quits his claime: and falls to treat with them of a perfect League, vpon more equall conditions.

APHORISMES.

APHORISME LV.



Rinces (1) are said to haue many eyes, and long armes : because, their vnderstanding is enlightned by many, and their power is exercised as farre off. (2) As therefore nothing is more needfull to them, then faithfull Counsellors, and vpright executioners of their will : (3) So nothing is more perillous when the partie, whose seruice is vsed, directeth his counsels or actions, to his owne particular aduantage.

(1) Πολλοὶ βασιλεὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ μακρὰ ἄκρα. i. Multi Regis oculi, multa aures.

An nescis longas Regibus esse manus ?

(2) Συμβουλος ἵσθις ἄριστα. i. Consultor res est optima.

Ἱσθὶς ἀρετῆς ὅτι καὶ Συμβουσία. i. Sacra res est Consultatio.

Τὸ βουλευέσθαι τῶν ἄλλων καὶ αὐτοῦ τῶν δεδιότων ὅτι. i. Deliberatio & consultatio cum alijs, diuinissima res est inter homines.

Nullum magis sapientia argumentum in Principe, quàm sapientium virorum delectum habere, ut eorum consilijs frui possit.

Vt alienis consilijs potius quàm suis sapere, ac res gerere consuesces : Sic Ludovicus II. Carolam filium institui voluit.

Xen. pæd. l. 8.

Ouid. ep. Hel.

Plat. in The.

Sen. gr. Eras.

Arist. pol. l. 4.

Bod. l. 3.

Idem. fol. 372.

(3) *Pessimum veri affectus, & iudicii venenum, sua cuique utilitas.
 Priuata res semper offecere, officientiꝝ publicis negotijs.
 Aureo pulsa fides, aureo venalia iura,
 Aurum lex sequitur, mox sine lege pudor.
 Ipse decor recti, facti si premia desint,
 Non mouet, & gratis pœnitet esse probum.
 Priuato vsui bonum publicum postponitur.*

Tac. hist. l. 2.
 Liui. l. 22.
 Propert. l. 3.
 Quid Pon. 2.
 Tacit. Ari. 6.

The French king is moued in the behalfe of *Peter Medici*, to mediate for his returne from exile : hee is perswaded by some of his Councell, that his presence would greatly further the kings affaires. He writes him letters of this effect, and giues him assurance of his restoration to his country and honours. These letters come to him at *Venice*. He is in much suspence : distracted betweene this hope, & the feare not to fall into his enemies hands. He communicates the matter with the Senate, and desires their aduice. They knowing what benefit the king would make of his returne (then which nothing could be more vnpleasing, or preiudiciall to them and their State) dissuade him from going : put him in minde what a folly it were to entrust himselfe in their power, and then stand at their mercie, whom he had offended so much : aduise him to stay a fitter occasion : offer to engage themselues in his quarrell, and when time shall serue, with their vttermoſt power to restore him home againe. He enclineth to this counsell, refuseth the kings offer, and remaines a *Bandito* in *Venice*.

APHORISME LVI.



F (1) all the elements, fire is the quickeſt and nobleſt nature: And of all creatures, thoſe are the braueſt, and moſt warlike, which are by nature of a ſwift, couragious, and fierie diſpoſition, as the *Lion*, the *Horſe*, the *Eagle*, the *Dolphin*, rather then the hugeſt and ſtrongeſt, as the *Elephant*, the *Camell*, the *Oxe*, and the *Whale*. (2) So of the actions

actions of men, those of Courage and brave resolution are the noblest; because they often prevaile, euen where counsell, wisdom, force, and all other meanes do faile.

Plin. l. 8.

Tacit. An. l. 1.

Lip. Pol. l. 3.

Tacit. hist. l. 3.

Id. Ibid.

Tasso. cant. 8.

Maceian. 3. disc.

Adag. Eral.

Tacit. An. 15.

Macci.

Lin. l. 21.

Lin. l. 25.

Senec. Agam.

Salust. Jug.

(1) Vide Plinium Naturali historia per totū libri octavi tractum.

(2) Cunctatione opus non est, ubi perniciosior sit quies, quā temeritas.

Consilia calida & audacia, in omni administratione damna, at in nouo aliquo aut subito discrimine, vtiliter & necessario sepe adhibenda.

Inter ancipitia, deterrimum est media sequi.

Plerique hic peccant: & in rebus afflictis, nec provident satis, nec audent.

Che spesso auvien, che ne' maggior perigli,
Sono i più audaci, gl' ottimi consigli.

Si quis Princeps, ab alio quippiam impetrare cupiat, cuius multum inter sit, tunc sape commodissima est ea occasio, quæ, ei à quo petis, nullum deliberandi spacium concedit: sed potius illi respondendi subitam necessitatem imponit: & praesens periculum demonstrat, si negatur id quod petitur.

Audendum est aliquid, si vis esse aliquid. Audaces fortuna iungit, Non ignavia magna imperia continentur, sed virorum armorumq; faciendum certamen.

Sape fit vi impetu quodam & audacia, obtineatur id, quod legitime progredienti nunquam contigisset.

Agendo, audendo, res Romana creuit, non his fegnis consilijs qua timida vocantur.

In rebus asperis, & senne spe, fortissima quaque consilia, entissima sunt.

Capienda rebus in arduis, princeps via est.

Semper in praelio, his maximum periculum est, qui maxime timent.

The Florentines treat with the French King, about the conditions of their peace. The Kings demaunds are held to be most vnreasonable. he will not be drawne to any other, nor stirre one iotte from what he had propounded. Peter Capponi, a gentleman of a noble house, and one of the Commissioners for the Treatie, snatcheth the paper of Articles out of the French Secretaries hands, teares them before the kings face: bids him sound his trumpets to the fight, and they would ring their Pallace bell, (which was their alarme to the battell:) and so he flings out of the chamber. This braue resolution and hot courage of Capponi, thawes the icie and stiffe demaunds

of

of the king, and reduceth him to a more supple and reasonable conclusion. The Articles agreed vpon, are these: A reciprocall forgetfulnesse of fore-passed wrongs: That *Florence* should be friend, confederate, and in perpetuall protection of the Crowne of *France*: That the king should hold in his hands *Pisa*, *Ligorne*, *Pietra-Santa*, *Serezana*, and *Serezzanello*, till his returne from the conquest of *Naples*; and then to surrender them vp to the Florentines, without demanding charges; and in the meane time they to haue the maine profits. That the conquest should be vnderstood perfect, when the king had taken the citie of *Naples*, or made a peace or truce for two yeares; or were himselfe in person returned backe out of *Italy*. That the Commanders of those places, and the Captaines of companies in them, should presently sweare to the deliuey of them vp, at the time assigned. That the citie should contribute towards the kings warres, fiftie thousand Duckats within fiftene daies; fortie thousand more in the moneth of march, and thirtie thousand in iune, next after following. That *Medici* should be freed from his proscription, and confiscation of his lands and goods, but that himselfe should not come within one hundred miles of the State of *Florence*: nor his brethren within one hundred of the citie.

APHORISME LVII.



O (1) necessitie can be forcible enough, nor pretence warrantable, to vrge a man to be disloyall, or make breach of his word and faith to his Prince. (2) It is therefore hatefull in all men, but more, when it is in a person noble by blood, and a souldier; and most of all when it is accompanied with ingratitude. (3) Who seldom escapes the due rewards for such an offence.

(1) *Fides, nulla necessitate ad fallendum impellitur: nullo corrumpitur premio.*

Apud Romanos, iuxta diuinae religionis, fides humana colitur.

Iurando gratiam Scythias sancire ne credideris, colendo fidei, iurant.

Idem Ibid.

Senec. Theb.

Cic. pro Ros.

Liuij.

Thucyd. l. 4.

Tibul.

Tacit. An. 1.

Græcorum ista captio est, qui altæ consignant, & deos innocant: nos religionem in ipsa fide nominamus.

(2) *Quoties necesse est fallere, aut falli, à tuis patiare potius ipse, quam facias scelus.*

Perfidiosum & nefarium est, fidem frangere, quæ continet vitam.

Quæ non reuerentur homines, fallunt Deos.

Fraus sædiæ quàm aperta violentia.

(3) *— Et si quis primò peruriacelat,*

Sera tamen tacitis pœna venit pedibus,

Perfidi & ruptores pacis, ulioni & gloria sunt mactandi.

Virginio Orsini was tied in many obligations of faith and allegiance to the house of Arragon: he was naturall vassall to Alphonso: he was Captaine-generall of his armie, and high Constable of the kingdome of Naples: his sonne Iohn-Iordan had married the base daughter of Ferdinand, and by her had receiued great fauours, and possessed great estates in that Realme: besides, the warre betweene the Pope and his Master, grew first vpon his quarrell. All this notwithstanding, he causeth his sons to accord with the French king, binding themselves to supply victuals, and giue free passage to his armie through all the estates they held within the iurisdiction of the Church. They deliuer vp Campagnana and some other townes of good strength and great importance, for the kings affaires, to the Cardinall Gurgense, in Deposito, for caution of performance. They entertaine the king in their chiefe castle of Bracciano: by whom, both Virginio himselfe, and diuers others of his house, were not long after taken prisoners.

APHORISME LVIII.



S (1) they say in schooles of Art, It is easier to oppose then answer: So they finde by prooffe in the art of warre, that it is easier and safer to obuiate and meete danger in the way, then to tarrie till it come home to our owne doores. (2) For, besides that the seate of warre is alwaies miserable, there is euer more courage in the assailer, and commonly better successe.

(1) *Turissimum est inferre, cum timeas, gradum.*

E meglio l'assaltar, che l'esser assaltato.

Senec. Hipp.

Rag. Stat.

Hiero

Hiero Syracusanus, persuasit Romanis, ad transportandas legiones in Italiam: ut & hostes in terra sua bellum haberent, minusq; laxamenti daretur ijs, ad auxilia Hannibali sumenda.

Liu. l. 31.

Expedit metum vltro inferre hosti, & ab se remoto periculo, alium in discrimen adducere.

Liu. l. 38.

Quand on voit venir le danger, il faut gagner le deuant, & n'attendre pas que le mal soit fait pour y donner ordre.

Am. Plut.

Cato.

La Sicurezza consiste, ne'l tener il Nemico e'l pericolo lontano da casa nostra: Perche, la vicinanza del male, e gran parte d'esso male.

Rag. Stat. l. 6.

Era meglio ch'egli andasse.

Ariost. agg. 3.

Inemici a trouar nella lor terra,

E sopra lor Campi alloggiasse,

Che dentro a le confine l'aspettasse.

Han ap. Liu.

(2) Inferendum bellum, infestisq; signis descendimus in Italiam: tanto audacius fortiusq; pugnaturi, quanto maior spes, maiorq; animus inferentis est quam arcentis.

Prouocando, tuas auges confidentiam, & aduersarijs minus: quia, fortiores videntur qui prouocare non dubitant.

Liu.

Mulum interest alienos populare fines, an tuas vri excindiq; videas: plus animi est inferenti periculum quam propulsanti: Ad hoc maior ignotarum rerum est terror.

Liu. l. 38.

Scipio.

Grande per l'ordinarip, e l'auuantaggio di chi assalisce altrui, nella casa propria: perche tiene lontani de se i pericoli, & i danni maggiori della guerra: Accresce a suoi l'ardire: lo leua a nemici: & non pur con le forze, ma con la riputazione, & anco con lo spauento (che si mette a nemici) si fa la strada piu facile alla vittoria.

Panuta. l. 2. disc. 3.

The State of Venice and Duke of Milan, obserue with a watchfull eye the proceedings of the French armie. They consider how the chiefe forts in Tuscany, are deliuered him in caution: how he had left a garrison in Siena: had accorded with the Orsini; and that nothing stood in his way, but yeelded to his forces. They feare that the kingdom of Naples alone, will not content an ambitious king, puffed vp with the pride of so great successe. And therefore they treat of a strong confederation and forces to be sent in Alphonses aide against him: which though at first it found some let, nor could they send succors in time to Naples, as they were purposed, by reason of the shamefull flight of Alphonso, from before the face of the French armie at Viterbo; yet it was not long after, but the former treatie was renewed, the League confirmed, and forces lent; whereas they gave him a braue encounter in his returne, upon Ilaro, and retook it, almost without blood.

APHO-

APHORISME LIX.



He (1) stronger giueth the law, the weaker must take the lesse of euills. Therefore if thou finde thy selfe ouer-weake, make thy peace at as low a rate as thou canst. (2) For any conditions are rather to be accepted, then an vneui-table ouerthrow expected. (3) So horrible are the effects of warr.

Am. Plur.
Gracc.
Plaut.
Herc. fur.

(1) Le plus fort donne la loy.

E malis, quod minimum est, id minimum est malum.

Pacem reduci velle victori expedit,

Victo necesse est. —

Am. Plur.
Phoc.

(2) Il faut tousiours accepter la paix, quand un puissant ennemi la cherche & la presente.

Aliqua tolerabili conditione finies bellum.

Liu. l. 25.

Cxf. bel. cia.

Quauis iuta conditione pacē accipere malū, quā cum valensiore certare.

Curt. l. 5.

Gubernator, ubi naufragium timet, iacturā, quicquid sanari potest, redimit.

Am. Plur. 20.

Rag. Sem. l. 6.

Il faut s'humilier deuant ceux, que ont la guerre en la main.

Se l'auuersario sia tanto potente, che non vi sia speranza di poterci defendere, sarà ufficio d'un sanio Capitano, il vscuotersi dalla ruina imminente, col minor male che si potrà.

Bartas fur.

(3) La guerre, — Casse-loix, Casse murs,

Rase-forts, verse-sang, Brule hostels, Aime-plaurs:

Desoubs ses pieds d'Arrain, croulle toute la Terre,

La Ronche est un Brasier, sa voix est un Tonnerre,

Chaque doit de sa main, est un Charbon bruyant,

Et chaque son regard, un Esclair flamboyant.

Alexander the 6. was one of the first that called the French king against Naples: and the first of all other, that had broken his faith, and the articles of confederation with him. The remembrance hereof, and of his infamous and symoniacall purchase of the Papacie, and leud administration in that his office, was a thing that terrified and perplexed him much: seeing the Cardinall of S. Peter in Vincola, & other his capitall & mortall enemies;

so neare in grace, and great in power, with the King, who now with his armie was approached nigh *Rome*, *Ciuita-Vecchia*, and *Cornetto*, with the greatest part of his country on that side the *Tiber*, were already lost, and at the French deuotion. He must put the Duke of *Calabria* and his army out of *Rome*, and suffer the King to enter, as he entred *Florence*, (armed on horsebacke with his Lance on his thigh) Or else looke for no peace. It was a hard case to abandon his friends, and commit himselfe to the power of his enemies, before all differences were compounded, or his peace made: yet perforce he yeeldeth to those conditions, and further capitulates thus: That betweene them shall be perpetuall amitie, and confederation defensive: That the King shall hold *Ciuita-Vecchia*, *Terracina*, and *Spoieto*, for caution: That the Pope shall remit all offences to those Cardinals and Barons that had folloved the French part: That he shall giue the King the inuestiture of *Naples*: That he shall deliuer him *Gemyn*, the brother of *Baiset* the great *Turke*, whom (corrupted with the *Turkes* mony, for the summe of forty thousand *Ducats* yearly) he kept in safe custodie, lest he should cause trouble and rebellion in the *Ottoman* Empire: That hee should pardon the Prefect or Prouost of *Rome*, for intercepting the last yeares allowance of forty thousand *Ducats* at *Sinigaglia*: And lastly, that *Cesar Borgia* Cardinall of *Valencia*, should follow the Kings army three moneths (as Legate Apostolike in shew, but indeed) as pledge for these conditions.

APHORISME LX.



THe (1) building whose ground-fels are rotten, may for a time be vnder-propped, and kept vp: but when it is once falling, there is no possible meanes to stay it. So the *Gouernment*, whose foundation is laid in bloud, or banishment of the *Nobilitie*,

Nobilitie, and oppression of the Commons, may subsist for a while: (2) But when it once begins to fall, the down-fall is violent, and sodaine.

Seneca.

Plin. Paneg.

Ineer. Aut.

Sen. Her. fur.

Lip. pol. l. r.

Sen. de Cle. l. 5.

Am. Pla. Cic.

Iuven. Sat. 10.

Lucan. l. 2.

Virgil:

(1) *Violenta nemo imperia continuit diu: moderata durant. Malos Principes detestantur, etiam qui malos faciunt.*

Regna cum scelere, omnibus sunt exilijs graniora.

(2) *Semel profecto premere felices, Deus — Cum caput, urgit: hos habent magna exitus.*

Ad cœ ut nullis consilijs vel auxilijs, id vitemus aut mutemus.

Reges consenscunt, liberisq; ac nepotibus tradunt regnum: Tyrannorum verò execrabilis, ac brevis potestas est.

Ceux qui veulent bastir leurs maisons, sur les ruines de l'estat publique, bastissent leur ruine propre.

Ad generum Cereris, sine cade & vulnere panci Descendunt Reges, & sicca morte tyranni.

— *Sic fors incerta vagatur,*

Fertq; refertq; vices, & habent mortalia casum.

— *Sic omnia fati*

In peius rueret, & retro sublapsa referri.

Rome is turned French. Aquila, & almost all Abbruzzi is reuolted. The Flower de Lys is set vp in euery place. Fabritio Colonia hath taken in the countries of Albi and Tagliacozzo. The Anio wine faction is vp in armes. All the kingdome cries out of the former cruelties and tyrannies of Alphonso, and his decessed father. The distressed king seeing now all things, not in the way of commotion, but of manifest precipitation and open rebellion; amazed with the terrour of this sight, and tormented with the horreur of his guiltie conscience, despairing of meanes to resist so fatall a tempest: and forgetting the reputation and fame he had got in his former wars; flies secretly with some few Jewels and treasure, into the Isle of Sicilia, and abandons all to the enemie, not acquainting either his brother or his sonne with his flight.

APHORISME LXI.



He (1) conquest is easie, wheno there is neither valour, counsell, power, nor desire of glorie: though that be more noble which preuaileth against Resistance, and opens his way with his sword, where he findes it shut against him.

(2) But the greatest and most glorious victorie of all, is not onely to breake the forces; but to triumph ouer the broken and dejected heart of the vanquished.

(1) *Facile est vincere non repugnantem.*

Non ille solus vincitur hostis, qui cadit in acie, pendere armorum oppressus, & virum: intus etiam tuba tacente sub iugo mittitur voluntarius: qui sensit expertus, nec fortitudinem in rebelles, nec lenitatem in supplices animos, hosti deesse.

(2) *Censebant Achæi, neque splendidam, neque firmam ullam victoriam, nisi quis palam & ex condito depugnaret, animos quoque deiecisset aduersariorum.*

— *Nulla est victoria maior.*

Quam quæ confessos animo quoque subingat hostes.

— *Si decidit hostis*

Ire super satis est, vitamq; relinquere victo.

Quæ vindicta prior, quam cum formido superbus Electus?

— *Ignoscere pulchrum*

Iam misero, paruaq; genus vidisse precantem.

Monte-fortino, a strong place belonging to Iacopo, Conti a Romane Baron, is besieged, battered, assaulted, and sacked, all in one day, Mount-S. Iohn, a peece likewise of good strength, is wonne in few houres, the souldiers all slaine, the towne rifled, and burned. S. Germane is one of the keyes of the kingdome, it hath before it the faire riuer Garigliano, whereupon it standeth, high and vnpassable rockes on the one side, and deepe marishes on the other. Here the new king Ferdinand, with an armie of fiftie Squadrons of horse, and six thousand choise foote, attends the coming of the French, and intends to bid him battell. Yet at the very first bruite of his enemies ap-

M

proch,

Arist.
Curt.

Poly. L. 13.

Claudian.

Stat. Theb. 8.

Claud. de
bel. Ger.

Id. Ibid.

proach, he shamefully quits the place, and retires to *Capua*, thence to *Naples*, to appease the tumult there. Hee is no sooner gone, but the Capuans with their gouernour *Trisultio*, render themselues to the French king. *Auversa* followes the example of *Capua*: and *Naples* of *Auversa*. Such faithlesse and faint-hearted resistance made the Neapolitans, and so easie a purchase had the French king of so large and noble a kingdome: ha- uing with an vncredible course of vnheard of fortune, and beyond the examples euen of *Cæsar* himselfe, with- out spreading a tent, or breaking a lance, conquered all lets, before he came at them.

APHORISME LXII.



IN (1) the active part of militarie seruice, the Captaines greatest vertue is to apprehend a present occasion of aduantage, and to take it. (2) So on the Passive side, the euasion from a sodaine and imminent danger, is much more noble then a fore- thought of preuention. For in this is onely matter of iudgement, but in that is the life of action and execu- tion.

(1) *Id est viri & duci, non desse fortuna præbenti se, & oblata casu flectere ad consilium.*

Ars viuendi & bellandi est Prudentia, vt medicina valetudinis.

Mens una sapiens, plurimum vincit manus: quæ fallere non vult, falli non potest.

*Atqui ego si mihi adstiter casus Dina,
Vel ter centum contra homines concurrere pugna
Ausim: re frenar comite, ð Dea, & adintrice.*

*Principis propria est & unica virtus,
prudentia.*

(2) *Ma che giona (ohimè) che del periglio
Vicino, omai fosse prasago il cuore,
S' irresoluto in ritrouar rimedio,
La mia tenera età rendesse'l timore.*

Yong Ferdinand had in open a ssembly made a speech full of compassion to the Neapolitans. He had absolved them

Lin. lat:

Cic. de. fin.

Lip. pol. l. 9.

à Plutar.

Homer. Il. N.

Arist. pol. x.

Tasso. cant. 4.

them of their oath and allegiance : with a noble and vertuous protestation, that whatsoeuer his fathers and grandfathers faults were in their gouernment, he for his owne part had neuer wronged any man while hee was Prince, or since he was King. All will not serue. The city is in reuolt. The king vpon his departure. When suddenly he had secret intelligence, that the Dutchguard in *Castel-nuovo* (or the Palace) had resolved to seize on his person, and sell him to the French king. He presently apprehends the danger, and meanes of escape, thus : Hee bids the Dutch take present spoile of all his goods and furniture in the Pallace. They all runne greedily to the pillage. Meane while, hee with his Vnkle *Frederick*, and the old *Queene* his grandmother haue leisure to embarque themselves in certaine light gallies, and make their escape.

Don Frederick, vnckle to the
King *Ferdinand*, comes vnder the
King sits in behalte of his
men and the Kings good to the
the King to the

M₂

The King takes no long pause to
and such nature hee was to impell



APHORISMES, CIVILL AND MILITARIE,

LIB. II.

APHORISME I.



Contracts (1) between States, must be tyed with a Gordian knot, that nothing but the sword, and fine force may vnloose them: else. there lies a way open to the Deseizance, and the aduantage once discovered, is as easily taken. (2) Wherefore the Prouerbe, Fast binde, fast finde, is as necessarie a rule betweene States, as betweene man and man.

Auf. prefaz.

Adag. Hraf.

Suet. fol. 189.

Xen. in exp.
Cyr. l. 1.

Plaut. Aulul.

Ouid.

Tac. An. l. 1.

Lip. l. 4.

Plaut.

Hor. sat.

(1) Alexander, fatalis ingi lora cum soluere non posset, abscidit.
Qua fide exprobratur. Simul, da & accipe: ubi res est cum homine parum certa fide, cui non sit tutum quicquam credere.

Ceteros quod polliciti sunt tarde prestare: Tiberium quod praestet tarde pollicent.

Nonnulli dicunt te periculo imminente multa polliceri: sed si fortuna prospera viare, nullius te rei memorem fore.

Quo pacto solent perplexari,
Pactum non pactum est, non pactum pactum est, cum illis lubet.

Pollicitis diues quilibet esse potest.

Plus in oratione tali dignitatis, quam fidei.

(2) Quando imminet periculum, nec rebus pub. nec Principibus credo confidere queas.

Qui cauet ne decipiatur, vix cauet, etiam cum cauet,
Etiam cum cauisse ratus est, sepeus cautor captus est.

Namquam te fallant animi, sub vulpe latentes.

It was articted at Florence, betweene the French king
and

and that State, that he should hold *Disa* in his hands, til his returne from the conquest of *Naples*: but the Florentines should still hold the Iurisdiction and profits. They thought all sure, because he had personally sworne it, in their Cathedrall Church, in a solemne manner, and generall assembly. He was no sooner on his way towards *Rome*, but the Pisans rebell, driue the florentine Officers out of the towne, imprison others, and spoile the rest, of their goods; not leauing one Florentine among them. Whereas, had the King giuen in charge to his commiffioners in the towne, and those commanders he left there in garrison, to see that duly performed, which hee had solemnly sworne: or had the Florentines taken French pledges for assurance thereof, that fire of rebellion had not broke forth in this City, which afterwards set all *Italie* in combustion: euen after the heate of the Neapolitan war, was raked vp in the cold embers of obliuion.

APHORISME. II.



Here (1) bee some people that sleepe with their eyes alwaies open: such are ambitious Princes: for though their senses be sometime so bound, as they will not heare the truth when it is told them, nor see the danger that is manifestly before them: yet is the eye of their imagination euer watchfull, vpon euery aduantage, that may seeme to further their end: so as they neuer take houres rest in the sweete sleepe of Content. (2) And for want of sufficient meanes, or fit instruments of their owne, they sow the seeds of Discontent, and then blow the coales of Sediti-
 on in the hearts of rebellious subiects.

(1) Libidinem dominandi, causam belli habent: & maximam gloriam in maximo imperio putant.

Quid pessimam Deorum amplecteris, Ambitionem, o fili? Ne facias: iniusta hec Dea multas in domos & ciuitates ingressa salaciter, & egressa est cum periculo videntium.

Salust. Cat.

Lip ex Eurip.

Idem. Eurip.

*Ambitio deior uerbo, malum formidabile: (Et alibi) ἀνὴρ ἐμπρός, κα-
lamias ἐμπίδης appellatur.*

Ouid. 2. Met.

*Afflatuq; suo populos; urbesq; domosq;
Polluit.*

Lucret. 3.

*— Avarities & honorum caeca cupido,
Qua miseros homines cogunt transcendere fines — Iuris.*

Lip. pol. l. 4.

(1) O artem nimis hodie Principibus receptam.

Tacit. Agric.

In ipsa hostium acie, insenies tuas manus.

Ouid. Fast. 2.

Vbi vivere aperte non datur, insidias, armaq; tecta parant.

Salust. de Metell.

*Aliis ab alijs diversos aggreditur, ac paulatim tentando, postquam
opportunos sibi cognovit, multa pollicendo persuadet.*

Lodowick Zforza had a great longing to the Soueraign-
tie of Pisa, euer since he was first there in exile. He calls to
minde that Iohn-Galeazzo Visconti (first Duke of Millan)
being Lord thereof by conquest, had giuen it to his base
sonne Gabriel-Maria. Yet because it was got with the mo-
ney and forces of Millan, hee thinkes his plea good : but
keepees the secret to himselve, till a fitter time. And there-
fore, now that he findes the Pisans mutine, and ready to
runne into open rebellion, he thrusts them on; promiseth
secret aid : and deales vnder-hand with them of Genoa, to
help the Pisans with armour, munition, and three hun-
dred foot.

APHORISME III.



*Emulation (1) of vertue, in great men is bo-
nourable, but of greatnesse, dangerous. For,
manytimes it breaketh the necke of one, or
both the Riuals : (2) But it neuer faileth
of hindring their faithfull seruice to their
Prince and the State.*

Adag. Eras.

(1) Emulatio Cos virtutis.

Reg. Sta. l. 19:

*Licorgo introdusse nella sua Rep. l' emulazione, come per vn sopen-
to della virtù.*

Plut. in Thef.

*Sic Thesei virtutem gloria incendit Herculis : & Themistocli
solumnum ademisti Miltiadi trophaeum.*

Lucan. l. 1.

*Stimulus dabat amula virtus.*Tac. hist. 2. de
Mucian.*Emulatio & proximi exercitum gloria, repulerat segnitiei.*

2. Factiones,

(2) *Factiones,—publica belli*

Semina, quæ populos semper mersere potentes.

Stimulus non raro privati odij pertinacia, in publicum exitium.

—O dirum exitium mortalibus, ô nihil unquam

Crescere, nec magnas patiens exurgere landes

Invidia.—

Invidiam quod habet, non solet esse diu.

Un sage Conseiller ne doit rien dire, ny faire, pour faueur, ou pour haine qu'il porte à aucun particulier : ains auoir esgard seulement au bien public.

Ne emulatio inter pares, & ex eo impedimentum oriretur.

Lucan. & L.

Tac. An. 10
Sill. 17.

Property 2.00119

Am. In Plot, 2005

Cato. sciM. du⁹

TUC 2012 final

The Seneshall of *Belcari*, and the Bishop of *S. Malò*, were the two onely minions about the French king. *S. Malò* fauoured the Florentines : *Belcari*, enuying the greatnesse of the other, being lately made Cardinall (though he was the chiefe means to bring him in fauour at first, that he might the better keep down others) is corrupted with the Pisans money, but more with a desire to crosse the Cardinall, to fauour their part : and therefore he moues the King in their behalfe, and preuaileth: contrary to his oath, and honour, and to the great preiudice of his affaires on that side the Alpes.

APHORISME III.



Vices (1) are stronger in the Aduerbe, then in the Adiectiue: and so be vertues. To doe that is well, is better then to doe that is good: for a man may doe what is honest sometimes, against his will: whereas in all vertuous actions, there is a free election. (2) That Iudge therefore, who giueth sentence before both Parties bee heard, may iudge the right, but not aright. A greater iniustice it is, to heare the equity of the Defendants cause, and yet doome for the Plaintiffe: for this man doth neither iustly, nor in iustice.

(1) Α δὲ μὴ καὶ διαπραραγῇ, ὅταν ἴδωσιν τοὺς ἀδελφούς, ὅταν δὲ αὐτοὶ αὖθις
 ὦσι διαπραραγῇ, ἀλλ' ἢ ἐκείνους συμβαίνει. i. *Inisist quidem agit, & inisist ali-*
quis, cum ea sponte agitur: cum vero non sponte, nec inisist quidem, nec
inisist agit, nisi per accidens.

Arist. eth. I, 2 esp. 8

(2) *Qui*

Senec. Mcd.

Aristoph.

Sophocl.

Tacit. Hist.

Senec. Mcd.

Pub. Mim.

Horat.

In Aut.

Aristot. ethic.

(2) *Qui statuit aliquid parte inaudita altera,
Aequum licet statueris, haud aequus fuit.*
Non alicuius iudicantis, sed de iudicantis. Indicare noli, nisi parte utra-
que audita.

Vicissim audi, & deinde te cognita, indica.
Inauditi atque indefensi, tanquam innocentes percuti.

Si indicas, cognosce: Si regnas, imbe.

Legem Nocens veretur, Fortunam innocens.

Male verum examinat omnis — corruptus Iudex.

Nemo erit innocens, si accusasse sufficiat.

Il magnanimo suole,

Sempre prima che dagnar la gente,

Padarla in faccia, et udirla in ragion ch'usa,

Differir ancor e piorar e mesi e anni

Prima che giudicar ne di altri danno.

The case betweene Pisa and Florence, is heard before the French King. Burgundio Lolo pleadeth for the Plain-
tiffes, sheweth, that his cite hath eightie eight yeares en-
dured an vniust seruitude: that the which had beene
one of the noblest cities of Italie, and extended her
command euen to the East, was now by the crueltie
and auarice of the Florentines, brought to extreme deso-
lation. That many of her chiefe citizens, rather then to
be eye-witnesses of the tyrannous vexation of the State-
publike, and insolent oppressions of private men, had a-
bandoned their natiue countrey, and preferred a volun-
tary exile. That they were depriued their ancient trade
of merchandize and only permitted to vse mechanicall
occupations. That they were debarred the executing of
any publike office, euen of those which strangers might
enioy. That the Florentine tyrannie extended euen to
liues whom they sought to suffocate and poison with
vnwholesome fogs, and dampes of infectious aire, by
giuing no order for the keeping of their banks, and drai-
ning the ditches of their marishes. That nothing remai-
ned to the Florentines crueltie and inhumanitie, wherein
they might farther plague the poore oppressed and di-
stressed Pisans: and therefore they humbly flie to his Ma-
iestie for redresse. Francesco Soderini, Bilhop of Volterra,
answers for the Defendants: declares the right of their
title

title to *Pisa*, from *Gabriel Maria Visconti*, the true owner,
 of whom they bought the towne, and territories thereto
 belonging: proues, that they were no sooner in
 peaceable possession, but the *Pisans* by rebellious violence
 deprived them thereof. That by a long and chargeable
 war they were forced to fight for their right: wan it by
 fine force being almost famished: and brought in more
 victuals then armes, to recover their hunger-starved bo-
 dies. That *Pisa* was never of power to enlarge her terri-
 tories by land, so farre as *Lucca*, a towne within ten miles:
 and for her power at sea, it lasted not long: nay, by her
 owne ciuill discords and seditious mutinies (before *Vis-*
conti had possession) she was brought to so low an ebbe,
 as *Ser Iacopo Appiano*, a base petti-foggie Notary, made
 himselfe Lord of the towne, and left the command there-
 of to his posterity. That *Pisa* was no way beneficiall
 to *Florence*, but by the fitnessse of the site, and nearnesse
 of the Sea: as for the exactions laid vpon her, they were
 so small, as they did little more then defray the charge.
 That they were no more debarred the trading in mer-
 chandize, then other subiects of their State, who all not-
 withstanding acknowledged to liue vnder a lawfull and
 moderate gouernment, and desired not to change their
 Lord: because they were not so obstinately and insolent-
 ly perfidious as the *Pisans*, whose seditious rebellion was
 now growne to a common by-word through all *Italie*.
 That they were so farre from depopulating the towne,
 as they had there planted a Vniuersitie, and recouiered her
Ligorne, without which Port she could not subsist. That
 all possible care was yearly taken for the maintenance of
 her bankes, and cleansing of her ditches. So that finally,
 their lamentations are fained, their obiections calumni-
 ous, and their accusations false aspersions. And therefore
 he humbly intreats his royall Maiesty to tender the right
 of their cause, and force of his owne oath in that behalfe.
 The King, notwithstanding all these reasons, inclines to
 the *Pisans*, and will not restore the *Florentines* to their
 right: onely he declares not presently, vntill he had got

N

into

into his hands the feuentie thousand Duckats yet be-
hinde, and due, by the articles of the late treatie.

APHORISME V.



Here (1) is no such fortresse for the safety of a State, as the breasts of subiects, armed with loyaltie and love to their Prince and Country. (2) On the other side, nothing more endangereth it, then their perfidious and rebellious revolve: which rebels seldome want succours from the foraine enemy: not in love to them, or care of their cause, but vpon some other gainesfull or reuengefull purpose.

Am. in Tac. 1.

Claud. ad Honor.

Plin. ep. 8.

Claud. Pan.

Cerro,

Cic. Philip. 3.

Hom. Iliad 3.

Valcr.Lg.

Am.Tac.Dcm.

Tac. An. I 2.

(1) *Non si ritroua fortexza più sicura, che il petto del vassallo, armato della benenolenza, verso il suo Signore.*

*Non sic ex cubia, nec circumstantia tela,
Quam intatur amor.*

Longè valentior amor ad obtinendum quod velis, quàm timor. Nam timor abis, si recedis; manet amor, ac fit, ut ille in odium, hic in reverentiam vertatur.

Peragit tranquilla potestas
Quod violenta nequit, mandataq; fortius urget
Imperioſus amor.

(2) *Quem discordia, quem cades cinium, quem bellum civile de-*
lebas: cum ex numero hominum ejciendum, ex finibus humana na-
tura exterminandum puto.

*Nefarius, sine gente tribuq; est hic talis, qui civile caput ferum & exi-
crabile bellum.*

Proditio tantum incommodi humano generi affert, quantum salutis bona fides.

Les seditieux, & les plus grands traistres, se retirent vers les ennemis de leurs maistres.

*Sic Antiochus, blandimentis aduersus plebem, fraude in Duce,
Barbarorum copias dissociat.*

The Pisans, by instigation of *Lodowick Zforza*, and supportation of the French Kings Commissaries and garrison, shake off the Florentine yoke, banish their officers,

cers, and rob their merchants. They flie to the neighbor-
States for aide. Genoa relieues them with men and munition, vpon an old grudge, euer since Thomas Fregoso their Duke, sold Ligorne to the Florentines; and lately more exasperate, by the fresh impressiion of their late losse of Pietra-Santa and Serezana. And Siena with Lucca (two professed enemies to Florence) furnish the Pisans with money. Lastly, Siena sends oter and besides, certaine troupes of horse to their aide.

APHORISME VI.



Niustice is neuer without some pretence to palliate her actions: and rather then faile, she masketh vnder the vizard of Religion, which makes her more vgly. Euen as ill-fauoured complexions, the more they are painted, the fouler they appeare: and misshapen bodies, by putting on rich apparell, seeme more deformed.

Per speciem sacrificandi obtruncare.

Semper aliquam frandi speciem iniuriae imponunt.

De specie Religionis in ambitionem delabuntur.

Un homini sogliono ricuoprir la loco ambizione, col velo della pietà Christiana.

Prinatie cause pietatis aguntur obtruncare & cupiditatem quisque suorum, religionem veluti pedissequam habens.

Minus autem aduersus, aduersus est obtruncare bonum. Ne disces in iustis, sed ex iustis partis vine.

Ambitio, Religionis prae-textu velata.

Vox in choro, mens in foro. Virtutem non colore, sed colorare.

Pudor impudentem celat, audacem quies.

Pietas nefandum, vera fallaces probant.

Sapius olim

Religio peperit scelerosa, atque impia facta.

Nihil in specie fallacius, quam prava religio est: ubi Deorum nomen praescinditur sceleribus.

L'injustice cherche des pretextes, à fin de cacher son insatiable conuoitise.

Malus ubi bonum se simulat, tunc est pessimus.

Nz

The

Tacit. hist. 5.
Li. pol. l. 3.
Tac. An. l. 3.
For. in Guio.

Leo. ep. 23.

Phocylid.

McLind.
Adag.
Sen. Hippol.

Lucret. l. 2.

Liui. l. 39.

Am. Flu. Ant.

Senec.

The Cardinal S. Malò hath the Kings commission, to draw from the Florentines the seuentie thousand Duckats due by the treatie; and meane while to entertaine them in hope, that he will restore them their priuiledges, and settle them in the quiet possession of *Pisa*: hee receiueth the money, promisseth a present redresse of their wrongs, & redintegration to their former right. He goeth to *Pisa*, with a shew to effect it: doth iust nothing in the businesse, and returnes. He answereth the Florentines exposition, with this cautelous and coloured excuse, that he had no authority to command them, and hee would not vse the King (his masters) power to compell them, because it was a matter could not bee done without blowes: which was vnfit for him, being a Priest, and a pillar of the Christian common-wealth, to be the cause of shedding much Christian blood: and so left them, cheated of their money, and frustrate of their hope.

APHORISME VII.



Will (1) to doe hurt, is neuer lesse in the close then professed enemie, but the means is alwaies greater. (2) Because, hee that suspecteth least, is soonest and easiest overtaken and overthrowne: like the vnskilfull Fencer, who while hee wardeth the head, is hit at the heart which lay out of guard.

Front. profi

(1) *Flexuosum & occultum hominis ingenium, cuius vis propriè in arte solertiâ, est posita: Aptam ad cauendos, quàm metnendos hostes.*

Senec. de ira.

Sen. Med.

Am. Tac. l. 4.

Ira quò plus tegitur, eò magis nocet: (Et sibi, & alijs.)

Professa perducunt odia vindictæ locum.

Quello sù sempre costume di Tiberio, d' andar cuoprendo le sue scale. rasc. 2e.

Lib. l. 22.

Curt. l. 4.

Vellei. l. 1.

Daid.

Senec. senz.

(2) *Incautus tutius opprimitur hosti.*

Quem spreueri, valentiorum negligentia facies.

Nemo celerius opprimitur, quàm qui nihil timet.

Tranquillus etiam naufragus horret aquas.

Ita crede amico, ne sit inimico locus.

The Duke of Millan, closely and vnder the name of the Genoweses, sends fresh suppliesto Pisa, conducted by Lucio Malvezzo, a Captaine of good reputation. With like secrecie he ioyneth with Siena, in the entertainment of Appiano, Lord of Piombino, and Iohn Squelli, with their troupes, for the defence of Monte-Pulciano, which towne had lately reuolted from the Florentines to them of Siena: giuing hereby lesse meanes of preuention, or resistance to them of Florence, and more courage and assistance to both these townes, their enemies.

APHORISME VIII.



Religion is rather a settler, then a stickler in policy: she rather confirms men in obedience to the government established, then excites them to meddle in the erecting of a new. So ought they of religious order to doe: for if they worke otherwise, they labour out of their vineyard, and mone out of their proper sphere. The awfull reuerence men beare to their Cognisance, and the opinion is had of their learning and sanctity, makes them more powerfull to perswade, then either the sound reasons of the wise, or authority of the Magistrate: and therefore when they abuse this Power, well ordered States should both carde and correct them; w^{ch} in a State meerey popular, is meerey impossible.

Religio & Resp. mutuis stant non officijs solum, sed & beneficijs.

Nihil est in rebus humanis Religione praestantius, idcirco sanctius & defendendum.

Quoniam si deus non esset, inuicem i. Autem omnia sunt tibi cura, rerum diuinorum.

Religio, & timor Dei solum est qui custodit hominum inter se societatem.

Tolle hoc vinculum, vita hominum stultitia, scelere, immanitate complebitur.

Prospera eueniunt colentibus Deos: aduersa spernentibus.

Non dubitant sacra Imperia seruire, ita se rerum humanarum futura regimen existimantia, si diuina potentia bene atque constanter essent famulata.

Religio, vinculum & coagulum est omnium societatis, & Iustitia fundamentum.

Religione vita constat.

Remig. Flor.
Laer. inst. l. 9.

Arist. poll. 7.

Laer. de ira. c. 12.

Idem. cap. 8.

Liui. l. 7.

Valer. l. 1. c. 1.

Phicar. in

Plin. nat. hist. l. 14.

After the banishment of *Peter Medici*, and his brethren, an assembly of the whole Citie is called, in the Pallace yard, for the establishing of a new government. Among all the rest, that forme of rule was thought best fitting for the present state of things, and the nature of that people, which vnder the name of a Popular State, was notwithstanding to be managed by some few of the better sort. This, though generally applauded, yet many of the chiefeft Nobles misliked. The matter is debated in Counsell. *Paul Anthony Soderini* argues for a State meerly popular: because by that other mixt kinde of forme, the family of the *Medici* had vsurped vpon the publicke liberty, and suppressed the rest of the Nobility. His discourse is excellent, full of reasons to proue, and of Art to perswade. *Guy-Antony Vespucci* redargues; answers euery point fully; conuinceth by demonstratiue argument, that no government is so fit for that State, as a well composed Aristocrasie: drawes the greater part of the Councell into his opinion, and is likely to carry the cause. When suddenly *Sauonarola* steps vp, a Friar Pre-dicant, of great estimation in the citie, for his knowhe learning and reputed sanctity of life, and held among the vulgar sort for a Prophet. This man inueigheth most against that forme, most applauded at this Session: tels them it is the will of God that the government should be absolutely Popular: and that it ought not to be in the power of a few Citizens, to alter the libertie, or preiudice the safetie of others. He (because he had often foretold in generall, of troubles and forraigne forces to inuade Italy, which they saw now come to passe) preuailes: & a government meerly popular is established.

APHO.

APHORISME IX.

NO (1) Prince can challenge so much glory by victory, but that Fortune will put in to bee sharer with him : because shee giues successe, beyond the reach of Reason, and all ordinary meanes. This is the common opinion. (2) But the wiser is, that this happy effect proceeds out of former causes, as the direction of the Leader, quicke execution of the souldier, the advantage of number, order, place, and infinite such like. (3) But the truest is this, an all-seeing eye, much vnlike blinde Fortune; and an all-able hand, much stronger then weake Reason : who, as he is Lord of Hoasts, so is he the giuer of victories.

(1) *Huic omnia expensa, omnia referuntur accepta : in tota ratione mortalium, sola utramque paginam facis : adeoque obnoxij sumus sorti, ut fors ipsa pro Deo sit.*

Plin. l. 2. c. 7.

Non può mai il Capitano attribuire a se stesso tanta laude, nelle vittorie, che molta parte non se ne voglia, la buona sorte.

Parut. l. 2. disc. 4.

Fortuna ancor più bisogna assai, che senza, val viri poco, o non mai.

Ariost. cant. 16.

(2) *Victrix fortuna sapientia.*

Iuue. Sat. 13.

Bono Imperatori haud magni momenti fortuna est : mens ratioque dominatur.

Liui. l. 22.

(3) *— Valet ima summis Mutare, & insignem attenuat Deus Obscura promens —*

Horat.

Πῶς μὲν δὲ βένδεις, πῶς δὲ γενόμηναι χερσίν :

Πῶς γὰρ ἀνέχον μὴ δέξαι καὶ ἀνέχον ἀνέχαι :

Πῶς δὲ δύναιτο οὐρανὸν καὶ ἀνέχον ἀνέχαι :

Facile potentem facit, & superbientem deprimis : insignem minuit, obscuram augeat : corrigit prauum, superbum attenuat.

Hesiod. op. & dies. l. 1.

Two things remained to Charles 8. for the perfecting of his victory: the yeelding vp of New-castle and Egge-castle, and the reducing of other townes and Prouinces (not yet come in) to his obedience. A busines in all reason of great trouble, and much time & charge. But the Dutch garrison in New-castle, surrender it to the King, without abiding one shot of the Canon. And Egge-castle (an impregnable peece, standing vpon the sea, and at first

con-

contiguous to the Land, but diuided by *Lucullus*, and now ioyned by a bridge) so farre distant from the City of *Naples*, as the Canon may reach at randon, but not batter it in direct line, yeelds likewise vpon composition. The Syndicks and Consuls from all parts, striue who shall come first, to yeeld him obedience. The Castellans make as much haste to surrender vp their charges, and offer their seruice. The rocke of *Gaeta*, though strong and well prouided, yeelds to discretion. Finally, all the whole kingdome, except the fortresses of *Brindis*, *Gallipoli*, and *Reggium*, and all the Barons, except *Alphonso d'Anato* Marquis of *Pescara*, come in, and doe their homage.

APHORISME. X.



Face and Power, are incompatible: they neuer dwell long together. For Caesar will suffer no superiour, and Pompey will admit no peere. As therefore it is princely, to grant the Vanquished enemy honourable estates: so is it good policy to provide, that those Estates lye farre off: Because, it is a grosse error to grant him any one foot in that kingdome, wherein he was formerly a Competitor, and whereto he may hereafter lay claime.

Am. Tac. hist. l. 4.
De Rom. & Rem.

Tac. An. l. 4.
Tacit. hist. l. 1.

Cyp.

Lucan. l. 1.

Lucan. fol. 6.

Liuii l. 1.
Seuer. Agam.
Statilius.

*Difficilmente stanno in un luogo, l'vniione, & la Potenza.
Sic Thabanorum germanitas rupta: Sic Romanos geminos vnum non capit regnum, quos vnius vteri cepit hospitium.*

Arduum semper, eodem loci, potentiam & concordiam esse.

Pacis interest, omnem potestatem, ad vnum conferri.

Quando vnquam regni societas, vel cum fide caput, vel sine cruore desit?

*Nulla fides regni sociis, omnisq; potestas
Impatiens consortis erit.*

*Nec quenquam iam ferre potest, Caesarve priorem,
Pompeiuve parem.*

Infida est societas regni.

Nec regna socium ferre, nec tecta sciunt.

*Ambitus impatiens, & summo dulcius vnum
Stare loco: socijsq; comes discordia Regnis.*

Don

Don Frederick, vnckle to the vanquished and expulſed King *Ferdinand*, comes vnder ſafe-conduct to the French King: treats in behalfe of his nephew, that ſince God and men and the Kings good fortune, had all concurred to giue the kingdome of *Naples* to his Maieſty, his kinsman thought it no ſhame to yeeld to ſo great a Prince: nor was leſſe willing then others, to liue vnder his law, and in his obedience, ſo hee might haue any Eſtate therein (aiming at *Calabria*) by the Kings moſt royall and gracious grant. Where, liuing not as a King, but as a Baron of that Realme, he might honour and admire the clemency and magnanimity of his victorious Maieſtie, in whoſe ſeruiſe he doubted not, but one day to haue the occaſion of ſhewing his loyall obedience: By this meanes, hee ſhould purchaſe eternal glory to himſelfe, like the old Romans, and Princes of ancient times, who, for like actions were reputed and held among the people of future ages, for gods. That this act was no leſſe ſafe then glorious, becauſe, hauing *Ferdinand* at his deuotion, he ſhould be aſſured of the kingdome, and need feare no change of fortune. The King takes no long pawſe, to answer a demand of ſuch nature: hee is willing to inueſt *Ferdinand* with great eſtates and honours in *France*, and to giue *Don Frederick* full recompence for what himſelfe had loſt: but to giue him any part of the kingdome of *Naples*, whereof he was Competitor for the whole, hee abſolutely reſuſeth, as the fitteſt meanes to put all the reſt in manifeſt hazard.

APHORISME XI.



He more eminent men are in quality, the more ſoule is the quality of their offence. And therefore, as diſhonourable actions are greateſt blemiſhes, in thoſe that are honourable by blood or profeſſion (as Gentlemen or Souldiers) becauſe vertues are greater imballiſements

in them then in others: So wicked and Unchristian actions are most odious to those, that are not onely Professors, but professed Patrons of religion and vertue. In these, dissembled hypocrisie doubleth the iniquity.

Juuenal.

*Omne animi vitium tanto conspectius in se
Crimen habet, quanto maior qui peccat habetur.*

Liui. l. 22.

*Qui magno Imperio pradi, in excelsa aetatem agunt, eorum facta
cuncti mortales nouere. Ita in maxima fortuna, minima licentia est.*

Sen. Med.

Magna non latitant mala.

Juuenal.

Nam Curios simulant, viuunt Bacchanalia.

Adag.

Simulata sanctitas, duplex iniquitas.

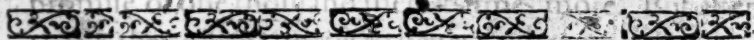
Sen. Hippol.

Vincit sanctos dira libido.

Adag.

Alia Leucon, alia Leuconis asinus portat. Dictum de Hypocritis.

Pope Alexander was forced to yeeld Gemyn the Great Turks brother, to the French king. It grieued him (out of his auarice) to lose the forty thousand Duckats, which he yearly receiued for him: and he repined (out of his enuy) that another should reape the benefit. Hee poisons him therefore in candid Suckets, which wrought in such manner by little and little, as he was out of his hands before the danger appeared, and died not thereof till he came at Naples. This he did (by common report) at the instigation of Baiaseth himselfe, who for this purpose corrupted the Pope with a great summe of money, lest hee should liue to be cause of some rebellion and troubles in the Turkish Monarchy. A shamefull act of a Priest, and pretended Head of Christianity, wherein he was iustly tainted with the foure vgly crimes, of Couetousnesse, Enuie, Bribery, and Murther.



APHORISME XII.



AN (1) Oath is to be interpreted, not by him that takes it, but by him that takes his assurance by it. (2) And therefore, they that make no scruple to breake those conditions, whereto they are tyed by this sacred and solemne obligation (if they finde any nice quillet in the Articles, which they may wrest to their purpose)

pose) they cannot avoid the guilt, though they seeke to remoue the scandall. For howsoever Politicks haue taken their aduantage out of Custome, their policy could yet neuer warrant it out of Iustice.

(1) Quacunque arte verborum quis iuret: Deus tamen qui conscientia testis est, sic illud accipit, sicut ille cui iuratur, intelligit.

(2) Hi tales, sua improbe potius, quam callide argenti.

Hi tales, se nunt causas, vel sponte oblatas arripiunt.

Perfidos nunquam causa deficiet, cur pacto non flecti.

Quarant latebram perjurio.

Nihil fidei humane magis conuenit, quam seruare pacta conuenta.

Turpe est cum alijs omnia, quibus vel minima virtus est cordi, in improbis principi viro, mentiri ac fidem fallere: Insinrandum autem, & pacta etiam scripto sancita violare, nec abiectionis quidem homini decorum esse arbitror.

Nouit vias quibus effugit Euerates: Quadrat in eum qui semper aliquam inuenit rimam, per quam elabatur, si quando fides esset prestanda.

The French king was tied by article, between him and the Duke of Millan, in lieu of his great aid, and furtherance of his wars in Italy, to confer vpon him the principality of Taranto, so soone as he had conquered Naples. The conquest is made: the yong king fled the land: All the Cities, Fortresses and Prouinces, with all the States, Commons, and Barons, (except some three or foure) are come in to his obedience. The Duke demands his due, by the couenant. The King shifts him off with this nice construction, that so long as any one peece or Peere held out, the conquest could not bee vnderstood perfect: and yet in the Kings treaty with Florence, the conquest was then to be vnderstood perfect, so soone as the City of Naples should be taken, and quietly possessed. In semblable maner, Ferdinand & Isabel, King & Queen of Arragon & Castile, had articulated with Charles 8. that they should neither directly nor indirectly hinder his conquest of Naples: and yet they are now readie to enter in league with other States against him, and to drive him out of Italy. They haue this euasion for their oath, that there is a clause in that article, not to bee bound to any thing in preiudice of the Church: so that if the Pope (who challenged to be chiefe Lord of Naples) required their aid for the recouery of that kingdome (as now he did) they might doe it, the article notwithstanding.

Isid. de sum. bon. l. 2

Lip. pol. l. 4.

Tacit. hist. l. 1.

Liui. l. 24.

Cic. Off. l. 3.

Leo. Imp.

Procop.

Adag. Poly.

APHORISME XIII.



O (1) keepe a field from ouer-growing with weeds, is to pluck them vp in the spring : and to preserue ones body from ouer-charging with disease, is to purge the bad humours betime. (2) Such seeds of sedition, and weeds of warre, are Suspicion and Jealousie. If they bee not nipped in the bud, they bring forth much fowre fruit, of trouble and danger.

Per. Sat. 3.

Pacat. pancg.

Cic. 5. de fin.

Tac. Anl 14.

Aristot. 2. g. 1.

(1) *Helleborum frustra, cum iam cutis agra tumescit, Poscentes videas : venienti occurrere morbo.*

A paruis veniunt summa mala principia.

Omnium rerum principia parua sunt, sed suis progressionibus usu augentur.

Modicis remedijs primi motus confidere.

(2) *Il sospetto peggior di tutti mali, Spirto peggior d'ogni maluaggia peste : Che, l'infelici menti de morti, li Con velenoso stimolo moleste.*

Por. in Guic. l. 15.

Idem. l. 16.

Aristot. cant. 2.

Aristot.

Il Sospetto cominciato fa, che tutte le cose si ripigliano, in mala parte. Dietro al Sospetto, viene l'odio; dietro all' odio, offese: con l' offese la congionzione, & intrinsechezza co' nemici di chi s' offende.

Questa Peste lor'ricorda i danni E morti dati, o in palese, o in ascoso, Quinci dimostra che timor sol' d'uno Han tutti gl'altri, & essi n' han a' ogni uno. Se non fosse l'huomo sempre stimolato Da quel sospettorio, da quel timore, Da quel furor, da quella frenesia, Da quella rabbia, detta gelosia.

The proceedings of the Duke of Millan, are suspected by Charles the 8 : he therefore with gifts and large promises, assures to himselfe the Cardinall Fregoso and Obietto Fiesco, two fit instruments for him, to stirre any troubles in Genoa. He entertaines also in pay, with the conduct of one hundred Lancces, John-Iacob Triultio, the head of the Guelph-faction in Millan, and the Dukes sworn enemy. On the other side, the Duke grows jealous of the French Kings

Kings greatnesse, and of his affection to him and his State: hee feares that the vast thoughts of his ambition, would not limit themselves within the confines of the kingdome of Naples. He therefore makes stay of the 12 Gallies that were in readinesse at Genoa, for the Kings seruice, and forbids any other to be manned or armed for his vse: and is ready with the first, to make war vpon him.

APHORISME XIV.



N (1) a strict morall sense, to speake and not to thinke, is rather leasing then ingenuity, and therefore reproveable. (2) But necessity giues a larger latitude, and freer scope, to the manage of great affaires. For, nothing is here more expedient, then that the enemy know nothing of our deliberations, till they be put in action, nor of our preparations till they be on foot. It is therefore a vsuall and usefull policie, when such forces are prepared, either by sea or land, to pretend them for one seruice, and intend another.

(1) *Aliud corde premunt, aliud ore promunt.*

Aliud ore, aliud animo, omnia dissimulans.

Ben si ode il ragionar, si vede il volio.

Ma dentro il occhio, mal giudicar puossi.

Laudem occultio magis tramite, quam aperta via, petunt.

(2) *Nulla sunt meliora consilia, quam qua ignoraueris hostis, antequam sunt.*

Fieri quid debeat, cum multis tracta: Quid facturum sis, cum paucissimis, vel potius ipse tecum.

Sententiam suam celent Principes.

Agésilas misit qui rumorem spargerent, eum (ad decipiendum Tisaphernem) aperte & manifesto, ad Lydiam contendere, clam vero & occulte ad Cariam: Persa, Caria presidium imponit: Lacon, Lydia infestat.

Prudentissimi Principes ita se comparant, ut qua minimè omnium fieri capiunt, ea se sactent esse facturos.

Nec ostenderunt bellum prius quam insulerunt.

Nihil magis optandum, quam ut rerum gerendarum consilia, quoad eius fieri poterit, quam maxime occulta sint.

Erasm.

Culp de Tib.

Ariost. cant. 6.

Valer. l. 7. c. 3.

Veget. l. 3.

Veget. l. 3.

Lip. pol. l. 3.

Polyx. stra l. 1.

Bod. l. 3.

Liu. de Sab.

Bod. l. 3.

Ferdi-

Ferdinand and Isabel, King and Queene of Spaine prepare a great navy, furnish it with great store of land forces, both horse and foot, besides armour, munition, and all other warlike habillements. The doubtfull and iealous eye of the French King looketh this way, and would faine be satisfied, what Expedition those great preparations intended. The Spaniard giues out to the world, that those forces were onely leuiued for defence of his owne kingdome of Sicilia, and assurance of his other States, against all sodain irruptions whatsoever. But it was indeed (as it after manifestly appeared) to assist the Pope and Aragonese, against the French, for the recovery of the kingdome of Naples, and the driuing him quite out of Italy.

APHORISME XV.



He Councell of State is the Cabinet of the Commonwealth, Deliberations the Jewels, and Secresie the lock which shuts vp this treasure from others; then which, nothing more aduanceth the publicke businesse. Hence is it, that confederate Princes intimate many times to the world, the generall cause of their combination; and reserve to their owne secresie, and for fitter times, the particulars of greatest moment.

Terent. And.

Liui. l. 3.

Valen. l. 1.

Leo Imp. de app. bell.

Polyb. l. 19.

Senec. Hip.

Curt. l. 4.

Ouid.

L. aer. in Sol.

Liui. l. 42.

Opus est ijs, quas in te semper intellexi, Fide & Taciturnitate. Arcana Regni, mira celant fide: Non metus, non spes, elicit vocem, quæ prodantur occulta.

Taciturnitas, optimum atque tutissimum rerum administrandarum vinculum.

Vbi optimum ex omnibus consilijs reperis, apud te solum tene: ne aduersarijs hoc indicetur, & insidijs eorum appetere.

Primum præcipuumque eorum, quæ ad felicem consilij exitum requiruntur, est silere.

Alium silere quod voles prius sile.

Nulla res magna sustineri potest ab eo, cui tacere graue est.

Quis minor est autem quam tacuisse labor?

Nemo suis tacere potest.

Eumenes, cum Romam venisset, & Regem Persen in Senatu accusasset,

isset, & de toto bello cum Patribus deliberasset: in praesentia nihil praeterquam fuisse in Curia Regem, scire quisquam potuit.

Apud Persas, nemo consiliorum est conscius, praeter optimates sagittarios & fidos: Apud quos Silentij quoque colitur Numen. *bac*

The prosperous successe of Charles the 8. caused the king of Romanes, the Pope, the king of Spaine, the Duke of Millan, and State of Venice, to contract a strong confederation against him: it is proclaimed in Venice, where all their Ambassadors are met to that purpose. The Proclamation onely imported, that this League was made for defence of their States, the one of the other: but it was by them capitulated in Articles more particular and secret, that the Spanish Armada, which was now in Sicile, should assist Ferdinand to recouer his kingdome of Naples. That at the same instant, the Venetians should by sea assaile the coast townes of that Realme. That the Duke of Millan should attempt the taking in of Asti, to impeach and stop the passage to all succours, that should come out of France that way. And that the rest of the confederates should contribute a certaine summe of money (in such proportion as was secretly agreed on betweene them) to the king of Romanes, and the King of Spaine, towards their charge in warring vpon the Realme of France it selfe: to be set vpon by them, in two seuerall places at the same time.

APHORISME XVI.



E (1) *lineth safely, that liueth close'y, and provides to meet Danger, which way soeuer it cometh. (2) Therefore when Princes bee up in armes round about vs, and we in doubt whether side to take, it is good policy so to forecast, as we may make our owne State sure, who soeuer is victor, and saue our owne stake, who soeuer is loser.*

(A) Crede mihi bene qui latuit, bene vixit, & intra Fortunam debet quisque manere suam.

Ouid. trist. 3.

Licet

Senec. ep.

Cicero.

Curt. l. 4.

Li. pol. l. 4.

Arist. poll. l. 1.

Tacit. hist. 2.

Dio. Hal. l. 8.

Licet foris resonent omnia, dum intus tumultus non sit, dum inter se cupiditas & timor non rixentur, bene est animo.

Ad quoduis aduersa fortuna supercilium, ex omni parte quadratus. (2) Suam quisque fortunam in consilio habeat, cum de aliena de- liberat.

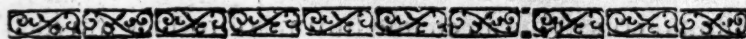
Aut iunge te, aut inua: quid si occulit.

Cautè in pericula descendendum, aliequin temeritatis erit.

Quando hostis imprudentiâ ruat, (quod loco Sapiens est) alienam subtilitiam opperiri inuat.

Plerumque utilis & tuta est dilatio.

The Duke of Ferrara is required to enter the League with those other Confederates, against Charles the 8. He refuseth: he holdeth himselfe fast to his French alliance: yet he suffereth his son and heire *Alphonso*, to be entertained by the Duke of *Millan*, with charge of one hundred and fifty men at armes, and title of Lieutenant-generall of all his forces. This course tooke the old Duke (*con cantela Italiana*) that the sonne might make his fathers peace, in case the Leaguers preuailed: and himselfe might free his sonne, if the French had the better.



APHORISME XVII.



Friendship in Court, is like Musicke at a feast: a man bath nothing but a sweet sound for his mo- nie. Or rather, it is like those Apothecary drugs, which are hot in the mouth, and cold in the ope- ration. It is quicke to promise, and slow to per- forme; receiuing substance, and returning smoake: sometimes it moueth the clients cause, but seldome vrgeth it to preuaile.

Plin. paneg.

Senec. Her. fur.

Petrar.

Plaut. Bacch.

In domo Principum, nomen tantum amicitia, inane irrimus per- manet.

— In Aula

Cum tot populis stipatus eas,

In tot populis vix vna fides.

Caduca amicitia, quarum delectatio vel utilitas fundamentum: Nam & stantibus illis tremunt, & recedentibus ruunt.

Multis more atque exemplo isto viuunt, quos cum censeas esse amicos, reperiuntur falsi falsimonij:

Lingua factiosi, inertes opera, sublesta fide.

Pauci

Pauci ex multis amici sunt homines, qui certi sunt.

et ubi dicitur.

*Prohibet edicto si quidquam credis amico,
Fine tibi: & longe nomina magna fuge.*

*Piene d'insidie, e di sospetti
Corte Regali, e splendidi Palagi:
Oue la Caritate è in tutto estinta,
Ne si vede Amicizia se non finta.*

Plaut. Pseud.
Arist. apud Laer.
Quid. trist. 3.

Ariost. cant. 41.

The Cardinall S. Malo, a man of great sway in the French Court, and especially fauoured of the King, had receiued great sums of the Florentines, to stand their sure friend, in all their occasions of suit to his Maiesty. He vndertooke the matter, and assured them, not to faile. Naples being now conquered, and reduced to the French obedience, they are instant suitors (according to the articles of agreement betweene the king and them) that he would surrender them vp their cautionary townes, and not fauour the Pisans cause against them. Many of the Court perswade the King to the contrary, but the Cardinals power was greater then all theirs, if he would haue vrged it: for he might haue pressed the King with the oath he had taken, and the money and aid he had receiued. Yet, not to oppose himselfe ouer-stiffely against other eminent men in the Court, hee deales coldly in their businesse, and so they lose their money, and faile in their suit.

APHORISME XVIII.



N (1) the honour of great achievements, other men partake with the Prince, according to the measure of their place and merit. But the well or ill ordering of the things achieved, redounds wholly to his owne proper glory, or shame. (2) Hee is therefore to haue especiall care in the establishment of his new gouernment, that euery thing be reigled according to rule and order. For, it is greater honour to come off

P

with

With iudgement, then to go on with courage : to vse victory wisely, then to get it happily : and more glory to retaine a new possession, then to obtaine it.

Terent.
Sallust. ad Cæf.

Curt. l. 4.

Publi.

Ouid.

Senec.

Liui.

Flor. l. 4.

Egil. l. c. 13.

Lucan. l. 1.

Senec.

Liui. l. 37.

Am. in Phu. Cic.

(1) Tute hoc intristi, tibi omne est excedendum.

Faber est quisque fortuna sua.

(2) Facilius est quadam vincere, quam victa tenere.

Fortunam citius reperias, quam retineas.

Non minor est virtus, quam querere, paria tueri.

Plus est seruasse, quam quassisse decus.

Parari singula acquirendo, facilius possunt, quam vniuersa teneri.

Difficilius est Provincias obtinere, quam parare : viribus parantur, iure obtinentur.

Consultius est, sua tutari, quam aliena adiungere.

O faciles dare summa Deos, eademq. tueri ———— difficiles.

Parare & querere arduum, tueri difficilius.

Non minus est quæstia tueri, quam querere : alioqui quærendi nulla foret utilitas : nihilq. aliud esset quam cribro haurire.

Il est beaucoup plus fait, de garder un estat de ne tomber en ruine, que de l'aggrandir, & enrichir.

The French King had with incredible success and unheard-of fortune, impatronised himselfe of the kingdome of Naples : hitherto rather fortune then force, seemed to fight for him. But now hee omits to follow that happy current, and take in those few places which yet held our, and which with small danger or charge he might haue reduced vnder obedience. His souldiers giue themselues ouer to pleasure and ease. The State yet vnsetled, is not regled with such order & prouidence, as was meet. He refuseth to heare poore petitioners, or complainants, and to redresse their wrongs : he referreth such businesse to his Courtiers, who either through insufficiency were vnable, or through avarice vnfit, to determine such causes. The Neapolitan Nobility were not regarded, nor so graciously vsed as they ought : their deserts vnrewarded, & themselues debarred from audience, or accessse to the King. The Aniovine faction (of his owne party) were put off from day to day, from the restitution of their lands and estates, with many difficulties and dilatory procrastinations. Favours and graces were obtained by none, but those

those which paid well for the purchase, and taken from others without iust cause. The Domaines of the Crown, and offices of the State, were conferred onely vpon the French. The disorders and outrages of the souldiers in those places where they were quartered, were many and great. These were the chiefe causes of the declination of the French affaires, of Fortunes turning her back towards them, & of the Neapolitans reuolt from them. Who were not so forward before to incline to their part, as they are now willing to returne to the Arragonefe. Neither had they in times past, the cruelty of their King in such detestation, as now they haue his banishment and misery in commiseration. Whereof strange effects not long after followed.

APHORISME XIX.



THe inconstant multitude, is naturally desirous of nouelty, and apt for change: hoping for more then they should, and enduring lesse then they ought; and euer in dislike with the present times. They consider not, that though they change their Lord, they change not their tenure; though they quit their old master yet they are still in seruice. They should therefore purge this humour of new-fanglednesse, and remember, that if the same condition of seruitude cannot be auoided, it skils not whether it be vnder Lo. Iohn, or Lo. Thomas: and so sit still.

La natura de' populi è inclinata à sperar più di quel che si debbe, & à tollerar meno, di quel ch'è necessario, & ad hauer in fastidio le cose presenti.

Est natura hominum nouitatis auida.

Subita & repentina ingenia, qua nouis semper rebus student, & ad bellum mobiliter, celeriterq; incitantur.

Quod sunt in consilijs capiendis mobiles, & nouis rebus studentes, nihil his committendum statuis.

Qui fit Meceas, ut nemo quam sibi sortem

Seu ratio dederit, seu fors obiecerit, illa

Contentus uiuat? laudet diuersa sequentes?

Vulgus cuiusque motus noui cupidum.

Por. in Guic. l. 10.

Plin.

Cæf. com. l. 4.

Id Com. l. 3. de Gallis.

Horat. serm. l. 1. Sat. 1.

Tacit. hist. l. 1.

Horat.

Vn. Æn. l. 1.

*Roma Tibur amo ventosus, Tibure Roman.**Sanctus animis ignobile vulgus.*

Before the comming of the French, the Neapolitans desired nothing more then their comming. They murmured against the gouernment of old *Ferdinand* and *Alphonso*. They exclaimed of their cruelty to the Nobles, and oppression of the Commons. The French is now come: hee hath eased them of many impositions and taxes: in stead of which grieuances, he hath giuen them priuiledges and exemptions, to the yearly value of two hundred thousand Duckats. Yet are they againe weary of their new Lord. They call passionately to minde, the Oration which young *Ferdinand* made to them at his departure. They promise themselues greater happinesse vnder his Rule. They excuse his fathers cruelty, with the name of iust seuerity; and his pride and insolency, with the faire titles of noblenesse of heart and princely courage. And againe desire to haue him rule ouer them.

APHORISME XX.



Hen (1) an humour is strong and predominant, it not onely conuerteth his proper nutriment, but euen that which is apt for contrary humors, into its owne nature and quality. (2.) Of like force is a strong and wilfull desire, in the mind of man: for, it not onely feeds vpon agreeable motions, but makes euen those reasons which are strongest against it, to be most for it.

Galloc. aff. l. 6.

Plutarch:

Dorot.

Dion. halica.

Lip. pol. l. 3.

Sen Oed.

Martial. l. 1.

(1) *Vitioso humore genito, pars prinseps aliqua consentis, à qua totum corpus celeriter alteratur.*

Sicut Hædera mirè vales, ex qualibet se alligare ansa.

Sic Regula obliqua, quæ recta sunt, obliquat.

(2) *Alia mens indigentibus alia affecuris quibus egerunt. Fiducia valde obnoxia in consilijs, quia suas alienasq. vires parùm librat: & euentus omnes aptat ad sua vota.*

Eger animus, falso pro veris videt.

Reges & Dominos habere debes

*Qui se non habet, atque concupiscit,
Quod Reges dominiq; concupiscunt.*

*Polybij sanum hic dogma, iubentis, nunquam de futuris rebus, tan-
quam iam factis, deliberare.*

*Sed quia cæcus inest vitij amor, omne futurum
Despicitur, suadentiq; breuem presentia fructum,
Et ruit in vetitum damni secunda libido.*

*Enertere domos totas optantibus ipsis
Dij faciles: nocitura togâ, nocitura petuntur
Militia.*

Lip an. l. 3.

Claud. Eutr.

Juvenal. Sat. 10.

The conquest of Naples is not yet absolutely perfect: some places are vntaken: many controuersies vndecided: the State not well settled: neuer more need of the French Kings stay in those parts, presence in those businesse, and prudence in perfecting and setting all things straight. But the king hath a great longing to returne into his country, and follow his former pleasures. All the Court is of like humour, and thinke no ayre so sweet as that of France. While they burne in this hot desire, comes newes of the strong confederation against him, which might in reason haue cooled him: and before he could set forward on his iourney, comes an alarme, that the Venetian fleet is vpon his coast in Puglia: that Alphonso and the Spaniards are landed in Calabria: then which nothing could be more forcible to cause his stay, except he meant wilfully to lose that by his owne fault, which fortune had so suddenly cast vpon him. Yet he and his Courtiers confidently con-
strue all the contrary way, and make it the chiefe reason of their more hastie returne.

APHORISME XXI.



Man may be overcome of his enemy, either by fortune or aduantage: which, when they alter, hee may recouer his honour, and repaire his losse; because he still hath the heart and courage which he had at first. But hee that is overcome of his owne passions, is in desperate case: because the inward hold, which

was his owne is lost. It is therefore the greatest victory to overcome ones selfe; and to giue his Iudgement power ouer his Affections; which will euer aduise him to vnmaske those blinde guides, and to looke to that course which is most for his honour and safety.

Seneca.

— *Flecte mentem, pectus antiquum aduoca
Victisq; magno pectore arumnas doma:
Resiste: tantis in malis vinci malum est.*

Plaut. Trin.

Qui animum (i. affectiones) vincunt, quàm quos animus, semper probiores client.

Cic. Pro.

*Fortior est qui se, quàm qui fortissima vincit
Mentis.*

Arist. poll. 3.

Οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐὺδαμον, τὸν οὐδὲν διατάττει. i. Regere nequit qui non regitur.

Dion.

Si omnia qua alium quemvis in te imperantem facere velles, ea ipse tua sponte feceris, nec peccabis quicquam, & omnia rectè diriges, & vitam ex eo incundissimam & beatissimam viues.

Plaut. Trin.

*Si animus hominem perpulit, actum est, animo seruiuit, non sibi:
Si ipse animum perpulit, dum viuit victor victorum cluet:*

Seneca. p. 37.

Tu, si animum vicisti potius, quàm animus te, est quod gauderas.

Hor. a. od. 2.

Mulios reges si ratio terexerit.

Latiùs regnes, audum domando

Spiritum quàm si Libiam remotis

Gadibus iungas. & uterque Pannus

Seruiat uni.

Charles the 3rd is not yet surely seated in the royall throne and full possession of the kingdome of Naples. His enemies begin againe to hold vp their heads. Hereupon he is in conflict with himselfe, whether to returne home, or stay. Principles of waite, and rules of State, plead his stay: but the desire of enjoying his home-pleasures, haue the more fauourable audience and powerfull perswasions, in a mind captiuated to his owne passions, and preuailes. He disposeth thus of his affaires: the one halfe of his troups he takes with him, for the safe-guard of his person; the remainder he leaues behind, for defence of his late conquered kingdome. The troupes he left were these: one halfe of the Swisse and French foot: eight hundred French lances: and five hundred men at armes, Italians: vnder the leading of the Praefect of Rome, Prospero, and Fabritio Colonna and Antonio Saugello, Captaines rewarded by him, with

with many faire Estates: besides those Princes and Barons of the Realme, that were sure on his side: and Gilbert Mompensier to command all in chiefe, whom he deputed Generall for the wars, a man more esteemed for his greatnesse of Estate, and nearnesse in blood to the King, then for his owne valour or sufficiency. D'Aubigni was left Great Constable of the kingdome, and Gouvernour of Calabria. Belcarj was made high Chamberlaine, and Gouvernour of Gaetta. The Prince of Salerno was restored to his office of high Admirall. By this diuision of his forces (violently forced by his desire to returne) hee neither left the kingdome well assured, nor his person without manifest hazard; as shortly after appeared.

APHORISME XXII.



WE (1) may not measure the size of Wisedome, by the Last of Fortune: for, Euent is the tutor of fooles, to preuent is more iudgement. Therefore the priuate man will so farre forth relieue his distressed neighbour, as that he leaue not himselfe vnprovided: for (saith hee) Charity begins with it selfe. (2) In like manner, it is good policy in States, so to furnish their allies in time of need, as they disfurnish not themselues, and stand at the mercy of fortune, and euent.

(1) L'Euento, è il Maestro de' stolti.

Careat successibus opto,

Quisquis ab euentu facta notanda putat.

Bene ubi quod consilium discimus accidisse, hominem catum eum esse declaramus, Stultum autem illum cui vertit male.

La Risolutione ch'è buona, deue esser misurata dalle Ragioni, che ti hanno mosso a farla: non dal successo che ne segue: Delquale, perche può uenire fuori d'ogni pensio humano, e d'ogni ragione, niuno è obligato a renderne conto.

C'est mal fait de louer ou blasmer les entreprises, par la fin qu'en reüssit: & mesurer la Sagesse au pied de la Fortune.

(2) Ita equum est, me vestra meis armis tutari, ne mea inserim nudentur præsidijs.

Proximus sum egomet mihi.

Parut. l. 2. d. 5.

Ouid. ep.

Plaut. Pseud.

Bor. l. 1. de Eccel. Capit.

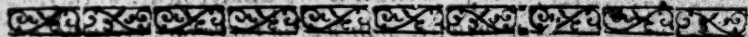
Bodin. rep. l. 3.

Liui. l. 31.

Terent.

The

The French King is returning towards Rome: he is denied the inuestiture in his new kingdom: the Pope feares him selfe and his Estate. He therefore requires aid of the Venetians, and Duke of Milan. They readily assigne him one thousand light horse, and two thousand foot: with promise of one thousand men at armes more. But afterwards they call the matter to better deliberation; they consider the danger of sending their troupes so far from their owne States, by former examples, whereof they had repented. They find that the power left behind, was not sufficient to defend themselves. They call to minde the Popes fallshood, who had Ferdinands army in Rome, for his safety, but the yeare before, and yet vpon the Kings first approach, made them perforce quit the towne to the French. They will not at their owne hazard make new triall of his honesty: and therefore they perswade him to retire him selfe into some place of strength, till the Kings army were past; and so vpon better aduice keepe the forces promised, for their owne vse.



APHORISME XXIII.



He (1) tongue and the hand are unruly members, where honesty and reason haue not the ruling of them. The tongue is alwayes the more ready; but the hand in this is the more dangerous: that, what is spoken may be helped, by supposition of mistaking, or disagreement in the reporters, or death: whereas that of the hand appeareth to posterity, suruiuethe the speaker and hearers, and remaineth as a thousand witnesses. (2) Wherefore as no vice layes a more foule aspersiō vpon man, then that of ingratitude: (3) So no euidence is so strong to taint him therewith, or conuict him thereof, as his owne hand writing in detestation of that vice, and approbation of the contrary.

Mac discz.

Carm. Pro.

(1) Incantus fuerit, si propria manu tale aliquid comprehenderit: A qua visiq. re, vnice cauere debes: quod nihil sit quo tā facile conuincamur. Vox audita perit, sed litera scripta manebit.

Qui

Qui audiunt, audita dicunt: qui vident, plane sciunt.

Lingua mali pars pessima serui.

Istis est Thesaurus stultis in lingua situs,

ut quasi habeam malè loqui melioribus.

(2) *Si come tradimento, non hapena, che à bastanza la castigbi: così l'ingratitude non habiasimo, che à sufficienza la vituperi.*

Tanto turpius gratiam non referre, quanto honestior causa referenda.

Omne dixeris maledictum, cum ingratus hominem dixeris.

(3) *Video barbam, & pallium, Philosophum non video.*

Pacuvij versus Macedo Philosophus scribi debere censebat praeforibus omnium temporum: Ego odi homines ignava opera, & philosopha sententia.

Plerique Philosophi autem non audierunt, ut non dixerit. i. Factis procul, verbi genus.

John-Iouian Pontano a man singularly learned in al knowledge of good letters, had to his high commendation published some workes of the morall vertues: had been Tutor to Alphonso in his minoritie: had long been Secretary to him and his father: had beene greatly preferred and enriched by them both. This man notwithstanding, at the Coronation of Charles the 8, in Naples, made the gratulatorie Oration in the name of the whole Citty: wherein he strained his eloquence (but more his honestie) not so much in extolling & magnifying the French, as in depraving and detracting from his old Masters, to his owne perpetuall shame, and dislike euen of the French themselves. So hard it is for some men to obserue those precepts in their owne course of life, which with singular learning and iudgement they haue taught to others.

APHORISME XXIII.



Here (1) is much wisdom in that Prince, who can iudge of the severall advices given by his Counsellors: yet greater is his vertue that can discern and follow the best: but his sagacitie is singular, that can diue into their inward thoughtes and purposes who give it.

(2) Because it is dangerous to be carried away with that counsell,

Q

sell,

Plaut.

Iuven. Sat. 9.

Plaut. Priu.

Remig. Flor.

Plin. 8. ep. 11.

Pub. Mim.

Gell. 19.

Gell. 13.

Gell. 17.

Am. Piu. 17.

Am. Piu. 17.

Am. Piu. 17.

sell, which tendeth onely to the particular profit of the counsellor.
(3) For where the Prince is of so easie and tractable a nature, it
were better for the State to haue him wicked, then for him to haue
such wicked ministers.

(1) Sape audiui eum primum esse virum, qui ipse consulat, quod in rem sit: secundum eum, qui bene monenti obediat. Qui nec ipse consulere, nec alteri parere scit, eum esse extremi ingenii.

Sapientissimum esse dicunt eum cui quid opus sit, ipsi ueniat in mentem: proxime accedere eum, qui alterius bene inuentis obtemperat.

οὐτὸ μὴ παρὰ τὸ ὅς αἰὶν πάντα νοῦντες.

အောက်ပါ အချက်များကို ဖော်ပြပါ။

ὁ δὲ καὶ ἰσχυρὸς αὐτῶν νοση, μὴ τ' ἄλλου ἀκύνῃ

ἐν θυμῷ βαλλόμενος ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἀχρῖς τὸ ἀνὴρ ἰ.

Plurimum sapit qui sibi ipse per omnia sapit: etiam ille qui bene mo-
nenti obtemperat: at qui nec sibi sapit, nec aliam audire monentem in
animum induxit, inutilis prorsus hic vir est.

*Ra' o' eminentes viros non magnis adiutoribus, ad gubernandam for-
tunam suam reperies.*

2. In autres Principū fictiè ac simulatiè questus sui gratia, insuſurrant.
Ceux qui ne viſent qu'à leur particulier, enſcruent aux grands, ſe de-
ſpensent aiſément de leur ſoy.

(2) Melior est Respub. in qua Princeps malus, ea in qua mali sunt Principis ministri.

Tiberius Princeps crudelis & avarus, Servitia habuit modesta: Gallus Princeps haud malus, praepotentes habuit liberos, omnia venalia offerentes. I mali dell' una & dell' altera corte, erano egualmente gravi, ma non egualmente sensati,

The French armie is at *Siena*. The kings Councell adui-
seth to make haste, before the contederates should haue
leued their forces, and be drawne to a head, to impeach
their passage backe. The Florentines require againe with
greater instance then before, the restitution of their cau-
tionary townes. They offer him in consideration, the
thirty thousand Duckats yet behind, due by the treatie,
as also to lend him threescore thousand more. Moreover
to send him for his safe-guard out of *Italie*, three hundred
men at armes, and two thousand foote, vnder their Ge-
nerall *Francesco Decco*, and to attend his army as farre as
Asti. All the Council thought these offers large, and most
needfull for the king to accept, in this time of vrgent ne-
cessitie, and extreame danger: as also their demand to be
most honest, iust, and reasonable. Onely *Ligny*, an vnex-
perienced

Hor. i. Od.

*hoc enim viri viro praestat, quod & bonum & malum bene feceris.
Sperat infestis, mensis secundus,
Alteram forem, bene preparatum
Pectus.*

Lucan.

*Fortissimus ille est
Qui promptus metuenda pati, si cominus instent,
Et differre potest.*

The Duke of Millan had raised great forces, with his confederates, to impeach the French King in his returne, and to bid him battaile vpon the way. He hath receiued with all solemne pompe the priuiledges of Inuestiture for his Dukedome, and sworne his Fealtie and Homage, to the Emperour. He hath armed ten Gallies at *Genoa*, of his own proper charge: & foure other great Ships, vpon the publike. He hath sent *Galeazzo San Senerino*, with sixe hundred men at armes, and three thousand foot, besides two thousand more raised in *Germany*, to besiege *Asti*. He is now in the height of his glory: His State well settled: & his forces great. In wth pride, he peremptorily commands the Duke of *Orleans*, to quit his title and claime to *Millan* (which after the death of *Phillip-Maria Visconti*, his Father *Charles* and now he himselfe, challenged as their lawfull inheritance.) He insolently forbids him, to suffer any new French forces passe that way into *Italie*: and to cause those already in *Asti*, to packe presently ouer the mountaines, and to surrender the Towne into *San Seuerinos* hands: with many other threatens, full of scorne and vanity. But *Orleans* attends the fortification of *Asti*: sends for French supplies from *France*: takes the field with his armie: winnes the Towne and fortresse of *Gualfinara*: surpriseth the strong towne of *Nouara*: rauageth all the countrey, bringeth it vnder contribution, as far as *Vigevano*: and might without opposition haue marched euen to the walles of *Millan*. Herewith the Duke is so amated, as he sheweth his feare with fruitlesse teares, and poorelie goes to the Venetian Ambassadour, to recommend his desperate estate vnto him, and to begge more forces to come to his succours. And finally, fearing his owne subiects, (as conscious of his vsurping and mis-gouernment)

he

he discharge them by Proclamation, of many tallages and impositions formerly laid vpon them.

APHORISME XXVI.



He (1) Getulian captiue, escaped the danger of deuouring by many Lions, through her humble gesture, and faire language: as saying to them, that she was a silly woman, a banished fugitiue, a sickly, feeble, & weake creature, an humble sutor, and lowly suppliant for mercy. As therefore the Lyon is the

noblest of all the beasts in the Forrest; who neuer shewes his force but where he findes resistance: (2) So is the true Souldier, the most honourable of all other professions; who holds it as great a glory to relieue the oppressed, as to conquer the enemy.

(1) Captiuam Getuliae reducem audiui, multorum Leonum impetum a se mitigatum alloquio: ausam se dicere feminam, profugam, infirmam, supplicem animalis omnium dignissimi, ceterisque imperantibus, indignam eius gloria pradam.

(2) Debellare hostes fortuna est, refocillare victos, verè regium. lus, à quo clementia abest, crux est.

Regia crede mihi res est, succurrere laesis.

Nil habet fortuna maius, quàm ut possit: Nec natura melius, quam ut velit seruare.

Honestius beneficiorum, quàm Trophæorum multitudinem relinquere.

Qui succurrere perituro potest, cum non succurris, occidis.

Quanta peruicacia in hostem, tanta beneficentia aduersus supplices utendum.

Che rileuar vn chi fortuna rote
Tal' hor' al fondo, e consolar l' afflitto,
Mai non su biafimo, ma gloria souente.

Ignoscendo populi Rom. magnitudinem auxilii.

Di Cortesia, di gentilezza e d'empì
Fra gl' antichi guerrier' si vider' molti,
E pochi fra i moderni: ma de gli empì
Costum' auuien', ch' assai ne veggia e ascolti:
Crudel Secolo, poi che pieno sei
Di Thieffì, di Tantalì, e di Atrèi.

Plin. nat. hist. l. 8.
cap. 16.

Panor.
Pom. Lxt.
Ouid.
Cicero.

Xen.

Senec. Ben.
Tac. An. 13.

Arist. can. 10.

Sahst
Arist. can. 36.

The distressed Pisans importune the French king to hold them still vnder his protection, against the Florentines : his Councell aduise the contrary, vpon weighty and vrgent reasons. They bewaile their lamentable estate : they run to euery meane Courtier : fall downe with their wiues and children at their feet, and deplore their miserable condition, to moue commiseration. No plaints, no teares, preuaile in Court : they flee to the men at armes, and the rest of troupes ; and implore their mediation to the King in their behalfe. These noble spirits take their complaint into a tender compassion : they goe presently to the king ; desire him, for the honour of himselfe, the glory of the Crowne of France, and for their owne sakes, who had beene, and would euer be ready vpon all occasions to spend the last drop of their bloud in his seruice, to take pity vpon the poore Pisans : and if it were for need of money that he was forced to abandon them, they offered their gold chaines, and all the rest of their iewels, besides such money as they had : yea and rather then faile, that he should keep in his hands, and employ to his vse, their pensions and entertainment, due for their seruice. He is ouercome at their importunate suit ; and reassures them, in the word of a king, neuerto giue them ouer into the Florentines hands : howsoeuer hee made semblance to that State of the contrary.

APHORISME XXVII.



Nothing (1) is more necessary in a Chiefe, then the perfect exploration of the courses his enemy taketh, and a true estimate of the forces he bringeth : for, by the ignorance of the first, and misprision of this other, he makes his preparations, and builds his actions vpon supposals and slippery grounds ; and bereaues himselfe of many faire aduantages.

Veget. 1.

Ille difficile vincitur, qui de suis, & aduersarij copijs, verè potest iudicare.

Omnia

Omnia ei hostium non secus ac sua, nota erant.

Nihil in Imperatore tam laudabile, quàm si hostis sui deliberationes, consiliâ, prænoscât.

Celeritas & audacia, & impetus præter rationem, & vanitas ac typhus, hostibus quidem opportuna, noxia verò maximè amicis.

Ducem scire oportet, quis ordo agminis, quæ cura explorandi, quantus urgendo trahendove bello modus.

Tuum est, hostiam exercitum, locorum situm, naturam regionis nosse.

Reconnoître bien son ennemi, est un des principaux points de la science d'un Chef d'armée.

Τὸ δὲ σημαντικὸν τῆς ἐξουχίας, καὶ τὸς γνώμας τὸν ἐχθρὸν, ἢ μάχης ἀνάγκη. i. Imperatoriam artem in hoc sitam esse puto, ut benè cognoscat hostem, quo maximè pacto possit cognosci.

Liv de Han l. 22.

Macc. l. 3. dif.

Polyb l. 3.

Tac. An. 3.

Liv. l. 22.

Am. Plut. Agis.

Eurip:

The French van-guard is led by the Marshall of Gbi-
enne: it passeth the *A penine*, farre-before the bodie of
the army; by reason of the difficultie of carrying of the
artillerie ouer those mountaines. It lodgeth at *Farnuovo*.
The army of the confederates which was drawne into
those parts to impeach their passage, and giue them bat-
tell, and consisted of two thousand five hundred men
at armes, eight thousand foot, and two thousand light
horse, commanded in chiefe by *Francesco Gonzaga* Mar-
quis of *Mantoa*, lyeth within three Italian miles of the
enemy. They suppose at first that the French (conside-
ring his small forces) durst not haue passed by land, but
would haue embarqued himselfe for *France* by-sea. And
now againe that he is in view, they suppose his whole
forces to be there: whereas if they had had good scouts
to obserue the enemies proceeding, and number, and that
the battallion was farre behind; they had vndoubtedly
broken the van-guard, put the rest to manifest rout, and
taken from the King all meanes of passing that way to
his forces in *Piedmont*, and peradventure had little failed
of seizing vpon his person: of which faire aduantages,
their ignorance bereaued them.

APHORISME XXV.



Here (1) there is no hope to escape, Despaire taketh armes: for necessity makes the most cowards valiant. (2) Wherefore, leaue thine enemy a Port alwaies open, whereby he may flee: and rather then try what he can do, (when thou seest what he would doe) make him a bridge of siluer, that hee may goe his way.

Polvznstrang.

lib. 1.

Iustin. l. 3.

Port. Lat.

Tact. An. l. 3.

Ant. Pri. Tac.

Veget. l. 3.

Sil. l. 1.

Flor. l. 2. c. 15.

Tacit. Agric.

Sen. Oed.

Tac. An. l. 1.

Boter. de Scip. in

Lin.

Rag. Scat. l. 3.

Curt. l. 6.

Am. Plu. Den.

Polyzn. l. 1.

Licurg. in Polyx.

(1) *Thoudas de amara Nidwot, con iudicium digne i. Sape desperatio praestat, quod effici virtute ac fortitudine non possit.*

Necessitas, etiam timidos, fortes facit.

Grauiissimi sunt morsus irritatae necessitatis.

Vbi extrema omnia in oculis, desperatione in audaciam accinguntur.

Ambigui, si deliberant: acres, si desperant.

Clausis in desperatione crescit audacia: & cum spei nihil est, sumit arma formido.

Et fractis rebus violentior ultima virtus.

Quam maximè mortiferi esse solent morsus morientium bestiarum.

Plus impetus, maior constantia, penes miserum.

Solent extrema securos facere mala.

(2) *Vicit ratio parcendi: Ne sublata spe venia, pertinacia accenduntur.*

Al nemico non solo si dee lasciar la strada aperta & spedita, ma la stricargliela.

Non si dee mai serrar quella Porta, per laquale il nemico possa fuggire.

Reprehenſi ex fuga, pugnabunt: quia fugere non possunt.

Le desespoir fait courir aux armes, & chercher salut en ruine.

Agesslaus, nunciente quodam hostes in templum confugere: iussit eos abire quocumq; vellent: quod esset periculosum cum ijs manum conferere, qui ex desperatione pugnam redintegrarent.

Tis palaidis pouzartus in poudi etis, ipa in qd pouzart in qd, to d mwen nontedestep. i Hostes fugientes nolite trucidare, ne potius ducant manere quam fugere.

A Herald is sent from the French King to the confederate army, to demand free passage. A Councell of warre is called, to resolve of answer: some thinke it a great blemish to the reputation of so great an army, to suffer the enemy passe, without blowes: others, considering the force and valour of the French lances, being all gentlemen, the assured firmnesse of the Swisse, and their speedy and

and incredible conueyance of their artillerie ouer those mountains, are of a contrary opinion. They send to *Mil-lan* for direction. The matter is debated by the Embassa-dours of all the confederates, who were there resiant : They of the *Empire* and *Spaine*, vrge it to a day of battell : they inferre, that otherwise all *Piedmont* is like to bee at the discretion of the French, by reason of *Asti* and *Noua-ra* : they labour to proue, that in case they be not fought withall, the State of *Italy* is in worse tearmes then euer. They protest that their masters should bee forced to enter into new deliberations, and take some other course to stop the current of the Frenches greatnesse, if the Itali-ans either would not, or durst not fight. But the Milla-nese and Venetian, whom it concerned most, (the ene-mies armie being now on their frontiers, and to bee fought with by their forces) thought it the safer way to giue them free passage, lest the necessitie of fighting should double the courage and force of their small num-bers : and so vpon one chance set the maine of all their fortunes. This was resolued in Councell, and Curriers dispatched to the campe with direction accordingly. But the neareneise of the armies one to another, engaged them in the fight, before the newes could come.

APHORISME XXIX.

THe (1) Topicke place in nature, that where the cause faileth, the effect also dieth : hath likewise his place in martiall affaires. (2) For, where men are couragious, not out of true resolution, but out of some conceit of the enemies weakenesse, or wants : they loose that spirit and animosity, when they finde things contrary to those former impressions.

(1) *Sublata causa tollitur effectus.*

(2) *Temeritas, ubi primum impetum effudit, sicut quadam ani-malia amisso aculeo, torpet.*

Languiebant omnium studia, etiam ij qui primum alacres, fidem as-que animum ostentabant.

Aristot.

Curt. l. 4.

Tacit. an. 3.

Multorum

Curt.

Lip. pol. l. 5.

Vellei. l. 2:

Livi. l. 21:

Tacit. hist. 2.

Claudian.

Cic. pro Ros.

Tacit. Ann. 3.

*Multorum in impetu vis est, qui parva quidem mora vilescunt.
Inquire in mores, naturamq; hostium: securitas enim in milite su-
gienda.*

Frequentissimum initium calamitatis, securitas.

Sape & contemptus hostis cruentum certamen edidit.

Satis cito incipis victoriam, ubi promissum fuerit, ne vincere.

Ne frangere animo committe calenti:

*Da spatium, tenuemq; morem: male cuncta ministras
Impetus.*

*Quod multos etiam bonos pessum dedit: qui spreis quæ tardæ,
cum securitate, prematura vel cum exitio, properant.*

The confederate army, vpon the encouragement of their Captaines, and the consideration of the small numbers of the enemy, but chiefly vpon presumption that they durst not make their way by the sword, through so great forces, as were there ready ranged in battell, make a shew of excellent resolution and desire to fight: on the other side, the French magnifie their owne valour, vilipend the Italian souldiers, and come brauely on. But when the Italians saw the gallant courage of the French, though few in number: and they againe obserued the confederates, strongly embatteled in their trenches, and with a face to fight, though before despised: both the one and the other finde their heate cooled, and edge rebated. The French would haue beene glad of a Passe, quietly granted; and the Italians were as sory they had no warrant to grant it.

APHORISME XXX.



NO (1) actions of men are more subiect to so-
dain and vnexpected euent, then those of war.
(2) And in warre, nothing so soone snatcheth
victorie out of our hands, as vntimely falling
to the spoyle. (3) Vpon such disorder, Fortune
alwaies turneth her wheele, and maketh victors of them, which
before were vanquished.

Por. in Guic:

Salust. Ing.

(1) Niuna nostra operazione, è più soggetta à dinersi & inopinati
annunimenti, che quelle delle battaglie. Nelle quali ben spesso sogliono da
leggierissimi accidenti, nascere importantissimi effetti.

(2) Exercitus pradator, & ipse prada hostium.

Nimis

Nimis saepe obstitit vincentibus, praeuim inter ipsos certamen (omisso hoste) spolia consecrandi.

A praeda arcendi milites, donec plane vicerint.

Themistocles ad maris litus, torques armillasq; passim disiectas vidit, & praeiit: sed amicus qui sequebatur dixit: Collega tu tibi, nam Themistocles non es. Innuens, hanc indignam esse pradam egregio Duce, cui gloria debet esse satis magnum virtutis premium.

(3) Euentus praeiorum, inter initia contra illos fuit, quibus victoria debebatur.

L' honorata vittoria che s' aspetta.

Voltera il caluo, ou' hora il crin ne mostra.

Tacit. hist. l. 4.

Lip. pol. l. 5:

Plus Them.

Veget. l. 3.

Ariost. cant. 36.

In the memorable battell of *Taro*, betweene the French and Italian confederates: the Marshall of *Ghienne*, the Lord *Triultio*, and the Bailiffe of *Dijon*, led the French van-guard: the King himselfe and the Lord of *Tramouille*, the battell: the Count of *Faix*, brought on the reare. The baggage comes behind slenderly guarded. The Marquis of *Montoa*, with a Squadron of sixe hundred men at armes, a grosse troupe of *Estradiots*, and sixe thousand foote, goes to charge vpon the Reare: leaues *Antonio da Monte-felro* at stand, with a strong Squadron to come to the succours, vpon a signall giuen: giues order to the other Squadron of *Estradiots* (or Greek horse) to charge the enemy in flanke, so soone as he had charged in front: appoints Count *Gaiazzo*, with foure hundred men at armes, and two thousand foote, to giue vpon the van-guard: assignes the rest of the *Estradiots*, to fall vpon the carriages: sets *Hannibal Bentiuoglio* to stand firme, with two hundred men at armes; for seconds to *Gaiazzo*, when he should be called. The fight is begun: the fury on both sides great: the successe on whether side doubtfull; till the valour of the Marquis *Gonzaga*, performing both the office of a worthy Commander, by his direction, and the dutie of a braue souldier, by his sword, made the enemy stagger, and brought the oddes on his side. In this instant, those *Estradiots* appointed to charge vpon the Baggage, finding no resistance, fall to the spoile: and bring of, some one kinde of pillage, some another. Their fellowes, appointed to charge the enemy in Flank, seeing this, rufine also to the bootie. The other *Estradiots* already

R. 2

en-

French party and so bringing great

and whole family, and all

ny moe in battell then they : as also they were forced to quit the place of the fight, and to retire ouer Taro : but principally, because they had obtained the end for which they fought ; namely, a free passage into their country, which they had now made, maugre the confederates, whose forces were there onely to impeach and stoppe them. This in the generall opinion was the stronger plea: and therefore the glory of that dayes encounter, is due to the French.

APHORISME XXXII.



N (1) the countrey Carrinensis (of Spaine) there is a riuer that shewes all the fish in it to bee like gold, but take them into thy hand, and they appeare in their naturall kinde and colour. (2) Such are faire promises in his mouth that would obtaine his purpose : bring them to the touch, and thou shalt finde, All is not gold that glistereth. (3) Hee therefore that will engage himselfe into a great action, upon promise of great assistance, if he be not as sure of his friends ability in power, as readinesse in will, he reckons without his host, and sits downe with the losse.

(1) In Carrinensi Hispania agro, fons est, aurei coloris omnes ostendens pisces : nihil extra illam aquam ceteris differentes.

(2) Multa fidem promissa leuant, ubi plenius aquo Landat venales qui vult extrudere merces.

Verba promissantium Cupressis similia, quæ sublimis cum sint & pulchra, fructum non habent.

Præquam promittas delibera, & cum promiseris facias, ut ne quis merito tuote oderit.

Theagines æmilius sumus cognominatus : quod magnifice polliceretur, cum esset pauper.

(3) Tale nihil timeo, sed nec Medea timebat, Fallitur augurio spes bona sepe suo.

Hen païor telus vulnere facta meis.

The Cardinall of S. Peter in Vincula, and Fregoso, with the troupes of Vitelli, and other land-forces, besides a nauy at sea, attempt vpon the coast of Genoa: they take two

R3

Port

Plin. nat. hist. lib. 2. ca. 103.

Hor. ep. 3.

Plut. Apop.

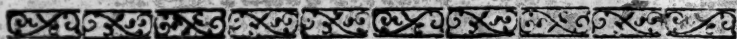
Stob. de mor.

Polyanth.

Ouid. epist.

Ouid. ep.

Port townes, Spezie and Rappallo: they expect when those of their faction in Genoa, should arise in armes, raise some tumult, & further this businesse. They find nothing lesse. The Citie sends out seuen hundred foot to the rescue of their people, and recouerie of their townes: they suddenly set vpon Rappallo, and carry it: moreouer, a fleet of Gallies, one Carracke, and two Biscay ships, with some smaller vessels, set vpon the French nauie, and the exiles, in the gulf of Rappallo, fire all their shipping, kill many of the enemy, take the Generall prisoner, and obtaine a bloody & famous victorie. This successe had the French, relying vpon the promises of the Genowese exiles.



APHORISME XXXII.



THat (1) which paines vs much to endure, glads vs much to enioy, and to remember. For, there is nothing glorious or sweet in the fruition, that is not difficult and painfull in the acquisition: Nor can wee taste the kernel of pleasure, vnlesse wee cracke the hard shell of danger. (2) Such are the craggie and vntrodden paths to vertue and honour: where, though the first entrance bee hard, and many times disastrous, yet ouercome by true resolution and perseuerance, it after turnes to a mans greater glorie.

Cia. ep. l. 5:

Senec.

Virg.

Adag. græc.

Plaut.

Sen. Her. fur.

Ouid. Met. 7.

Ouid. art. 2.

Virg. opule.

Hor. l. Sat. 9.

Tasso. can. 17.

(1) *Habet præteriti doloris secura recordatio delectationem.**Quod fuit durum pati, meminisse dulce.**Olim hac meminisse iunabit.**O passi graviores dabit deus his quoque finem.*(2) *Difficilia qua pulchra.**Quæ nuce nucleos esse vult frangit nucem.**Non est ad Astra, mollis est terra via.**FleBILE principium melior fortuna secuta est.**Tendit in ardua virtus.**Quisquis enim duROS casus virtutis amore
Vicerit, ille sibi laudemque decusq; parabit.**Nil sine magno**Vita labore dedit mortalibus.**Signor, non fosse l'ombra, in spiaggia molle*

Tra fotti, e fior', tra nimfe, e tra Sirene,

Main cima alerto, e faticoso colle,

De la verità, riposto è il nostro bene.

Il ne faut, pour un rebous, ou denx, perdre le couraige.

Après beaucoup des travaux, l'homme vertueux gaigne le dessus.

Οὐδ' ἔστιν ἀδύνατον τοῦ καλοῦ πρᾶξις. Nunguam oportet animum de-
spondere hominem infortunatum.

Qui se habet, nihil perdidit.

Am. Plu. Dé.

Am. Plu. Diô.

Apollodor.

Adag. Poly.

Consaluo Ernandes d' Aghilar of Corduba, a Spanish Cap-
taine, commands in chiefe ouer his country louldiers, in
Ferdinands army, at the battell of Seminara in Calabria, a-
gainst the French led by d' Aubigni. The French gaine
the day. The Arragoneſe are all ſlaue or put to rout. Fer-
dinand himſelfe fleeth by ſhipping to Palma, and thence
to Meſina in Sicilia. Conſaluo eſcapeth hardly, and taketh
his flight by land to Reggium, croſſe the mountaines: yet
in this very kingdome, hee ſhortly after purchaſed him-
ſelfe, and that worthily, in the opinion of all men (euen
of his enemies) the title and ſir-name of Gran Capitano.

APHORISME XXXIII.

Every (1) action hath his warrantie, from the
collection of circumstances: and among these,
that of time is of greatest moment. For, not
to aduventure when we should, is cowardise, not
prudence: and to dare when we should not, is
rashnesse, not valour. (2) A wise man therefore must forme his
counsels and frame his actions upon the mould of necessarie cir-
cumstances.

(1) Magna sunt momenta temporum: & multum interest, idem il-
lud vitæ anre, an post decernatur, suscipiatur, agatur.

Temperis opportunitas, operis est optima magistra, cuiusvis & in-
capit artifex.

Tempus est, in quo occasio: & occasio, in qua tempus: Medela tem-
pore, est etiam ubi occasione contingit.

Temporibus medicina valet, data tempore profunt,
Et data non apto tempore, vana nocent.

Attraxit supernacua, & in discrimen rerum omnium, peruentura
bella: Dum flecti non minus existimat turpe, quam vincti.

(2) Tem-

Cæcom. l. 5.

Sopho. in. El.

Hip. in præc.

Ouid. remed.

Sen. de Ben. l. 6.

Sence Med.

Aulon de oc.

Tatis. luffe.

Ouid.

Lip. and 3.

(2) *Tempori aptari decet.**Tu quoque dum cogitas, dum percunctando moraris,
Elapsum aices me tibi de manibus.**Posteriora mirari presentia sequi.**Consilium nobis resq. locusq. dabunt.**Consilia noua pro nouis rebus, aut ubi priora impropera.*

Ferdinand, with a nauie of foure score shippes in all, Spanish and Sicilian, with *Ricaiense Catelano* Admirall of the Spanish Armada, presents himselfe in good order of fight before *Naples*: he had scarce men enough to man his shippes; yet set he a good face on the matter, in hope of the Neapolitans reuolt, with whom he had secret intelligence. *Monpensier* Gouvernour of the citie, sets a strong Guard in euery place, and preuenteth or suppresseth all tumult. He is aduised by his Councell of warre, to man that shipping hee had in the Port, and to set vpon the enemy, being so weakely prouided. He will not be aduised, *Ferdinand*, frustrate of his expectation, beares backe againe to sea, for *Sicilia*. The conspirators in the towne, feare their treason will bee discouered, send out a small boate to *Ferdinand*; importune his returne: hee doth so, offereth to land his men at *Magdalena*, a mile from the citie of *Naples*. *Monpensier* (as rashly forward now, as hee was fearefully backward before) will needes out of the city, to impeach their landing. An act of more aduantage to the conspiratours, then they could haue hoped. Hee is no sooner out, but the Neapolitans are all in armes: shut the gates vpon him: and make the place good for *Ferdinand*. The French thus ingaged betweene the towne and the enemy, are forced (though with some difficultie) to recouer the Castle. And *Ferdinand* by this meanes regaineth *Naples*.

APHO.

APHORISME XXXV



Here Reason sits as soneraigne, and goverues all
other passions and perturbations of the minde,
that mans actions are reigled by the square of
vertue, and confined within the limits of medio-
crity. Now, because in a multitude, these mo-
tions and affections, like so many mutinous Souldiers, haue no
such Captaine as Reason, to repaire vnto for direction: they are
whirled with a voluble and violent Variation from one extreame
to another: and neither in obedience nor disloyalty, loue or dis-
daine, keepe any settled stay.

*Mutabile subitis vulgus, tam prouum in misericordiam, quam im-
modicum seuitia fuerat.*

Multitudo praecepta fertur, non quae cundum est, sed quae itur.

Nec quicquam facilius, quam in quemlibet affectum mutare populū.

*Populus effigies Agrippinae & Neronis gerens, circumstetit Curi-
am: il quae contutis queste dimostrazioni, non impedi, che in i a non
lungo tempo, l'uno, & l'altera non capitassero male.*

*Quelli che non fanno, & al credor sono più pronti, & più d'altri an-
cora mal contentsi, & vagli di cose nuove.*

I fauori del popolo sono cosa leggiera, & da non farsi fondamento.

*Il popolo non ha ne' suoi consigli alcuna fermezza: ma come ama
hor' uno così amarebbe, ancora doppo poco vn' altro, se la fortuna si
cambiasse.*

Bellua multorum capitur.

Populus, nouarum rerum cupiens, pauidusq.

*Hac est natura multitudinis, aut seruit humiliter, aut superbe domi-
natur. Libertatem, quae media est, nec spernere modice, nec habere scituit.*

Vulgus — eosdem colit atque odit.

The Citizens of Naples had disloyally reuolted from
their naturall Liege Lord and Soueraigne, yong Ferdinand
(a Prince that had neuer wronged them) to Charles the 8.
a stranger, and one they had neuer scene. They had for-
ced him to flee out of Naples; and before hee could shift
himselſe out of the towne, they had rifled his goods, and
forcibly taken all his horses out of the stables, with ma-
ny other outrages, full of all insolency and villanie. Charles
the eight had vsed them much better then they of the

S

house

Scip. in Phil.

E. in d. l. 1.

Cic. l. 1. 9.

Spontheg.

Cic. ep. 18.

Am. Plu. C. 16.

Tac. an. 17.

Seneca.

Quintil.

Am. in Tac. l. 5.

Am. in Tac. l. 1.

Am. in Tac. l. 5.

Id. ibid.

Horat.

Tacit. An. l. 16.

Liu. l. 13.

Sen. Her. fur.

house of Arragon; he had eased them of diuers grieuances and impositions: yet is he no sooner out of the towne, but they shut the gates vpon him, and take in again yong *Ferdinand*: and him whom they so shamefully vsed before, they now receiue with generall shouts and acclamations of great ioy. The women from the windowes, couer him with flowers as he passeth by, raine showers of sweet waters vpon his head, and run to meet him in the streets, offering to kisse his feet, and wipe the sweat from his face. So hard it is for the popular sort to keepe any meane.

APHORISME XXXVI.



Though (1) *Fortune* bee said to haue a great stroke in all humane actions, and greatest in those of war, yet can we not so transferre the fault vpon her, but that the greatest blame will light on our selues. For her two onely aduocates (blindnesse and ignorance) which plead her innocency, are our chiefe accusers, and proue vs guilty of our owne destruction. (2) It is therefore the part of euery Commander, to open the one eye of his providence vpon the danger; and fixe the other of his knowledge, vpon the remedy.

Ouid. Trist.

Cz. scem. l. 6.

Pro. Ital.

Cicero.

Lini.

Iuuen. Sat. 10.

Lip. poll. 3.

Senec. Med.

Polyb. l. 3.

(1) *Rara quidem est virtus, quam non fortuna gubernat. Multum cum in omnibus rebus, tum in re militari, potest fortuna. Assai ben balla, à chi fortuna suona. Quicquid est prosperè gestum, id penè omne ducit suum. Vt quisque fortuna vititur, ita precessit, & exinde sapere cum omnes dicimus.*

——— *Sed te*

Nos facimus Fortuna deam, & scilicet, locamus.

(2) *Qui quæ necessaria sunt, non providet, non prorsus videt: Hac non sapere, est planè decipere.*

Fortuna fortes metuit, ignanos premit.

Quia aduersum aliquem casum inciderunt, si id forti ac magno animo tolerant, plerumq; fortunam suam in melius vertunt.

Montpensier, Generall of the Kings forces, Gouvernour of the kingdome, and Lieutenant of the City of Naples; while

while he was peaceably possessed of the towne, had neither the judgement to see, nor care to foresee, what was necessary for the keeping thereof, although he could not but expect new attempts from the enemies. He had not onely not provided Castel nuovo & Castel vouo, of sufficient store of victuals & munition, against all future accidents of extremitie, but had also suffered what was therein, a reasonable mediocritie, to be lauishly wasted & consumed. The Arragonese is now again Master of the towne: & Monpensier with his troupes are driven into those two places of strength (the one within the citie, the other within cannonshot) a number far too great, for the small prouision of victuals they found there. Which tooke from him all possible meanes of holding those two strong peeces, whereby he might very shortly and most assuredly haue reduced that citie to the French obedience.

APHORISME XXXVII.



IT (1) is vsuall, and allowable by the law of Armes, for a publick & professed enemy to attempt that by stratageme, fraud or suborned trecherie, which cannot bee got by fine force, without long time, vttermost danger, and extreame charge: for this way the purchase is sooner made, and at a lesse rate. (2) But is it dangerous for a chiefe Commander to treat in such a practise, and bee of the party, if he be to ingage his person, and entrust his life in the hands of the suborned traytor: lest, while he seeke to buy other mens liues for money, hee sell his owne for nought.

(1) *ἔστι δὲ τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀναγκάσει τὸν ἐχθρὸν ἰ. Oportet quilibet conantem, frangere aduersarium.*

Cum iustum bellum suscipitur, ut aperte pugnet quis, aut ex insidiis, nihil ad iustitiam attinet.

Id venenam quod Serpentes sine sua pernicie continent, in alienam effundunt: At malitia maximam sui partem bibit ipsa.

Pin.istod.4.

August.

Valer. Max.

Hom.odyl. a.
Vult. in Poly.

Lip. c. Tacit. an. 2.

Am. Plut. Phoc.

Polyx. l. 1.

Amy. Plut.

Lip. pol. l. 5.

Arist. cant. 36. de
Pesc.

Κρείττον ἐστὶν δόλῳ ἢ ἀντιστροφῇ χαλεκῶν ἰ. Confice siue dolo, siue stricto com-
minus ense. Cum Homerus sapē hoc dicat, nihil aliud praecepit quam
artibus & stratagematis aduersus hostes vti: Sin hac non succedat, tum
verò corporum vi ac robore periclitandum esse.

*Arma aperta palam vitare possis: fraus & dolus occulta sunt ar-
ma, eas inenitabilia: quia non prius se prodit, quam perdit.*

*Qui a de l'argent, il trouue des traistres, pres à vendre, on engager
leur patrie.*

*Optimum in ipsa acie quicquam machinari: ut consilio preueniente
finem belli, victoria paretur.*

*(2) Qui adionste foy au dire d'un meschant, s'en repent, & s'en
boit l'outrage puis apres.*

Metuendum magis, quam cauendum malum.

*Ecco qui ne l'insidie, che gli ha tefe,
Con vn tratto doppio, il rio Etbiopo.
Come scannato di Sactta cade,
Il miglior Canalier di questa etade.*

The Marquis of Pescara, the greatest commander vn-
der the Arragonese, had with his forces besieged and af-
flicted the Monastery *La-Croce*, a place neare *Naples*, and
of great importance, for his further desseignes: it was
strongly fortified, and brauely defended by the French:
Pescara despaires to winne it by force: hee deales with a
Moore, who had sometime been his slaue, and was now
a souldier in the place, to betray it vnto him. The Moore
assignes him an houre in the night, and prouides him a
ladder to climbe vp the wall, that they two might fur-
ther treat of the matter, and resolute of the meanes: meane
while he discouers the plot to the French. At the houre of
assignation the Marquis commeth; climbeth vp the lad-
der: is shot through the throat, and falleth slaine in the
place.

XLVII.

APHO-

APHORISME XXXVIII.



IT (1) is more princely to en-rich, then to be rich.
 (2) This rule in it selfe implyeth a limit. For
 (being so) he may not impouerish himselfe, to
 make others rich: lest he be vnable to performe
 that princely office; and want meanes to re-
 ward well-deseruing in others. Wherefore a great beggar must
 haue a great sayer-nay; and a great giuer, must not so glut his
 follower, as that he take from him all edge of meriting more, or
 expecting more good: lest he offer the sacrifice of his old seruice
 vpon a new altar, and turne the point of his power, vpon him
 that gaue it.

(1) *Regium est ditare, non ditescere.*

Extra fortunam est, quicquid donatur amicis,

Quas dederis solas semper habebis opes.

Præceps ille manu fluuios superabat iberos

Aurea dona vomens.

Nil negat, & sese vel non poscentibus offert.

*Molestius fert liberalis, si quid cum oportet, non erogauerit; quam
 si erogauerit quod non oportet.*

(2) *Dissolutionem Imperij doces, si fructus, quibus Respub. sustine-
 tur, diminuuntur.*

*Non ergo profuse effundende opes: Quæ pacis ornamenta sunt, sub-
 sidia belli.*

*Falluntur quibus luxuria specie liberalitatis imponit: Perdere multi
 sciunt, donare nesciunt.*

Non priuatim largiendum, quod auidius de Rep. sumas.

Ærarium ambitione exhaustum, per scelera supplendum erit.

*Haud debet Princeps, granitate sumptuum, iustos redditus pro-
 fligari.*

*Nefas est, Dispensatorem publicum, in delectationes suas suorumque
 conuertere id, quod Prouinciales dedissent.*

*Le Prince doit estre non seulement liberal, mais aussi magnifique:
 pourueu que de magnifique, il ne deuienne prodigue: car de prodigue il
 deuendra exacteur, & d'exacteur tyran.*

*Cane ne beneficium maius sit facultate tua: inest enim tali libera-
 litate cupiditas rapiendi, ut ad largiendum suppetant copie.*

*Prouidendum est, ut ratio quasnum, & necessitas erogationum, in-
 ter se congruant.*

Le Prince doit regarder, que le loyer soit preallable au don.

The French king had infeofed Fabritio and Prospera
 83 Colonna

Adag.

Marzial. 7.

Claud. pan. Prob.

Claud. pan.

Arist. eth.

Tacit. hist. l. 3.

Cic. pro leg. Man.

Tacit. hist. l. 1.

Tacit. hist. l. 2.

Tacit. an. J. 1.

Tacit. an. 16.

Alex. Seuer. apud
Lamp.

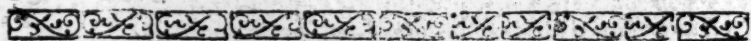
Bod. de rep. l. 5.

Senec. Ben.

Tac. an. 14.

Bod. rep. l. 5.

Colonna with great Seigneuries and States in the kingdome of *Naples*: he had giuen them whole Prouinces, more then to any other of that Nobilitie: his affaires begin now to decline in that Realme, and his friends to fall from him; among which, these two are the first of all, who of all other had least cause. They pretend for excuse, want of pay: a slender pretence in them, that had had such gifts and honours heaped vpon them. They alledge further, that *Virginio Orsini*, and the Count *Petigliano* (capitall enemies to their house) were in too much grace with the French: when as these men had not yet obtained at his hands so much as their libertie, which was due to them by the law of Armes, hauing their pardon & safe-conduct signed with the Kings own hands, before they were taken prisoners. But indeed these were but pretended allegations of excuse, for their vngratefull reuolt, from so magnificent a Prince. It was the great Estates conferred vpon them, beyond the merit of their seruice, or proportion of others (which ought to haue bin the bridle to restraints them from such perfidious back-sliding, and to haue kept them in all awfull and dutifull obedience) that were their only motiues to quit his seruice. For now they hoped to make a new purchase, by following a new Master: or at least, to saue so great a stake.



APHORISME XXXIX.



NO (1) man is more bound to be true, then hee that is trusted: nor any more carefully by vs to be tendered, then they who by our meanes, and for our cause, are brought in case not to helpe themselves. (2) It is therefore a shamefull thing in a Chiefe, to giue Hostages for keeping of articles capitulated: and after by wilfull breaking of them, to leaue the liues of those pledges at discretion, and the enemies mercy.

Cic. pro Ros.

(1) *Nemo ferè credit nisi ei quem fidelem putat. Perditissimi est igitur hominis, fallere eum, qui scius non esset, nisi credidisset.*

was impossible to say them when they heard the King in
Checquer was full.

In Rep. maximè conseruanda sunt iura belli.

— Ζηλοῦσθε κρείωνσι θεμίτας,

in 3. *ἡ δὲ δὴν ἐλάσσον, δὴν ὅτιν ἡ ἀνδρῶν.* i.

— *Deprauant publica iura,
Iustitiamq; fugant, Diuinum nil verba verentes.*

(2) — *Rebus succurrite laesis,
Et date naufragio littora tuta meo.*

*Is locus officio cum cessant prospera, cumq;
Dura ad opem fortuna vocat: Nam laeta fovere
Haudquaquam magni est animi decus.*

— *Aduersis non deesse decet.*

*Turpe erit in miseris veteri sibi rebus amico
Auxilium nulla parte tulisse tuum.*

*Quod te per superos & conscia numina veri,
Per, si qua est, quæ restat adhuc mortalibus usquam,
Intemerata fides, oro, miserere laborum
Tantum, miserere animi non digna ferentis.*

Monpensier, a man of small deservuing in martiall affairs, weake in his directions, cold in his resolutions, and unfortunate in his actions, in whom nothing was noble or great but his blood, (which issued from the Master-veine of France) is now straitly besieged in *Castell-nuovo* at *Naples*. Hee compounds to yeeld the place (their liues and goods saued) if in thirty dayes he were not relieued. He giues *Iuo d' Allegri*, and three other Captaines of eminent note, for pledges of the performance. *Monsieur de Percy*, and the Prince of *Bisignano*, come to his succours, with what forces they can make. They ouerthrow the Count of *Matalona*, at the lake of *Pizzolo*, neare *Eboli*. They march on, without resistance, till they come neare *Naples*. Here, they find all places strongly guarded, and all passages stopt. In despaire therefore of relieuing their distressed friends in *Castel-nuovo*, they retire. *Monpensier*, vpon nō necessity, but by perswasion of the Prince of *Salerno* onely, forsakes the Castle, embarques himselfe by night with two thousand five hundred of the garrison, and leaues the rest; with charge to hold still the place, beyond the day assigned by the composition: and so abandons those Noble men, his pledges, and leaues their liues at the discretion of *Ferdinand*.

*Cic. off. l. 2.
Homer. Illa,*

Ouid. Trist. 2.

Silius l. 11:

Lucan. 8.

Ouid. Pon. 2.

Virg. Æn. 2.

APHO.

...the place to the enemy: for he should not
continue to ... not haue medled with it at all, as not
belonging to ... but to the Duke of Orleans, who
like wife had right to the whole Duchie.

APHORISME XL.



Mans (1) eye and his honour, are two tender parts: the one cannot abide the rough touch of the hand, nor the other endure the smart ierke of the tongue: As therefore by the owners, they are carefully preserved, so by others that deale with them, they should be tenderly vsed. Such pregnant wits as had rather lose their friend, then their iest, must learne the lesson which is taught fresh souldiers, to take heed, while they leuell and discharge vpon others, they lye not so open that they bee hit themselves. (2) For as witty speeches lose their relish, when they are ouer-seasoned with the soure saue of reprehension: so, when they come from him, vpon whom they may be iustly retorted, by way of recrimination, they are most odious.

Tacit. an. l. 8.

Tac. an. 16.

Ammirat.

Apop. c. Poly.

Plaut.

Iquis Sat. 13.

Idem Sat. 2.

Ibid.

Amin Plut. Ant.

Horat. Sat.

Iunenal.

(1) Non fert ludibrium insolens contumelia animus.

Aspera facietia, ubi multum ex vero traxere, acrem sui memoriam relinquunt.

Con minor patientia si sente il dispregio, che il danno.

(2) Gorgias Sophista recitabat orationem, in Olympiacis ludis, de concordia: Hic homo (inquit Melanthus) de concordia totius Græcia differit, qui sibi, uxori, & ancilla, tribus duntaxat, ut concorditer vinant, nondum persuasit.

Qui alterum incusat probri, ipsum se intueri oportet.

Quis insulit Gracchos, de seditione querentes?

Loripedem rectus derideat: Æthiopem albus.

Merito vitia vltima fectos

Contemnunt Scauros, & castigata remordent.

Gaudisset sic mal aux grands: qui prennent plaisir de s'entrepicquer, & qui est le plus coupable, souffrent est le plus outrageux.

Cum tua pernideas oculis mala lippus inuictus,

Cur in amicorum vitijs tam cernis acutum

Quam aut Aquila aut Serpens Epidaurius?

Qui cælum terris non miscet, & mare cælo

Si sur displicet Ferri, homicida Miloni,

Clodius accusat mæchos, Castilina Cethegum?

Betweene Peter Medici and the Duke of Milan, was no kind correspondency: they entertained iealous constructions one of another: yet the Duke being now on his way

to

to come to the French king at Serezana, *Medici* goes out well mounted and attended: in complement to mee the Duke and bring him into the towne. He fortunes to goe out one way, and the Duke to come in another. At his returne, Sir (quoth he) I went out purposely to meet you vpon the way, to haue offered you my seruice, and attended you into the towne, but it seemes you came not the roade way. Indeed Sir, replies the Duke, one of vs hath missed the right way, but out of question it was your selfe. Couertly, and bitterly taxing *Medici* of taking a wrong course in not being formerly aduised by him, but in following the French partie, and so bringing great troubles vpon his owne citie, and whole family, and all *Italie* besides. A fault whereof no man was more guiltie then the Duke himselfe. In like manner *Alphonso* the father, writes from *Messina* in *Sicilia*, to his sonne *Ferdinand* at *Naples* (which he had newly conquered) that he might againe returne to that citie. Sir, answereth the son, I will first establish the State, settle the gouernment, fortifie the citie of *Naples*, and make all sure, least you should againe flee from thence, as earst ye did: whereas himselfe as well as the old man, had fearfully quit the towne, and fled away.

APHORISME XLI.



Ens (1) manners change with their honours: and therefore popular States haue cut off aspirers to ouer much greatnesse and popularitie, (though otherwise men of eminent vertue and worth) because it is scarce knowne to themselves (much lesse to the State) what maner of men they would proue, hauing gained their purpose. (2) So doe mens fortunes often change with their honours: for as historie giues vs instances of diuers Princes, to whom sucresse and disaster, glory and disgrace, haue beene alternatiue: so are they plentifull in examples, of such as haue had a continuall current

T

rent of good fortune, to a certaine period; and then a perpetuall ebbe, and course of the contrarie, all their life after.

AJag.

Arist. eth.

Sallust frag.

Tacit. hist. l. 1.

Senec. Thicst

Senec. Thicst.

Plin. paneg.

Curt. l. 8.

Cic. pro leg.

Maail.

Terent.

Liui. 7.

Eratm.

Eustach.

Pro.

Ariost. cant. 45.

(1) Honores mutant mores.

Magistratus virum indicat.

Maie secundaq. res, opes non ingenium mutare debent.

Secunda res acrioribus stimulis animum explorans: quia miseria tolerantur, felicitates corrumpuntur.

Nemo confidat nimium secundu,

Nemo desperet meliora lapsus:

Miscei hac illis prohibetq. Clotha

Stare fortunam.

(2) Nulla fors longa est, Dolor & Voluptas

Inuicem cedunt: breuior voluptas.

Habet has vices conditio mortalium, ut aduersa ex secundis, ex aduersis secunda nascantur.

Quotidie experimur quam caduca felicitas sit.

Sunt quidam hoc Astro, ut ijs ad amplitudinem & gloriam, & ad res magnas bene gerendas, diuinitus adiuncta fortuna videatur: Alij quibus etiam venti tempestatesq. obsecundant.

Alij quibus dormientibus Dij omnia conficiunt.

In sinum ijs victoria de caelo deuolat.

Reti vrbes capiunt.

Sunt vero alij ut treges iudicant. i. Quarta luna nati & infelices.

Qui Domi habent equum Scianum.

Si vede per gli Essempi, di che piene

Sono l' antiche, e le moderne historie

Ch'il ben va dietro al mal, e'l mal al bene,

E fin son' l' vn dell' altro, e Biasimi e Glorie.

Alphonso of Arragon King of Naples, during the raigne of his father old Ferdinand, and while himselfe was but Duke of Calabria, was renowned through all Europe for his famous deeds of armes, and successfull issue in all his actions. But after he once came to the Crowne, there was no one enterprize wherein he prospered: his glorie was daily eclipsed with the thicke clouds of blacke infamie, for his cruelty, auarice, and oppression: and his felicitie houely wained to the last change of extreame misfortune.

APHORISME XLII.



Lawfull (1) actions, proceeding from our free election, can no way be salued, nor par-
getted over with any colour of excuse: the
wound may well be bound up, but the scar
will alwaies remaine. For if law were to be
violated, it should bee for a kingdome at
least. (2) But neither the greatnesse of the purchase, nor of the
partie, can extenuate the qualitie of the fact, nor patronize ei-
ther the offender, or iustifier of the offence, from iust reproofe.

(1) Εἰ γὰρ τοῖς νόμοις ὁμοῖα τὰ κατὰ τὴν φύσιν. ἰ. Nam in legibus seruandis,
salus ciuitatis sit a est.

Themistocles, postulanti à se Simonidi Poeta, ut sententiam quam-
dam iniustam ferret, respondit: Neque tu Poeta bonus esses, si prator
numerum caneres, neque ego Princeps bonus si contra leges iudicarem.

Si ius violare fas est, regnandi causâ violandum: verum enim-
verò οὐκ ἔστιν ἄνευ νόμου καὶ ἀνὰ νόμον, ἀλλὰ κατὰ νόμον. Non fas potentes posse, fieri
quod nefas.

(2) Malè vim suam potestas alienis iniurijs experitur.

Quo plus possumus, eo moderatius imperio uti debemus.

Quanto liceat magis, tanto libeat minus.

Nulla quesita scelere potentia, potest esse diuturna.

Discite Pontifices, in sancto quid facit aurum?

Quid innat hoc templis nostris immittare mores:

Itē nunc ô mali homines, parate vobis honorem per vim,

Et contrahite diuitias undecunque venantes,

Per fas simul atque nefas, deinde messem ipsarum infalicem metite.

Ferdinand is repossessed of Naples it selfe, and a great
part of the kingdome. Hee endeouors to be re-assured of
the whole. To the effecting hereof, and establishment
of this State, his Counsell findes no meanes so good, nor
knot so strong, as a strict alliance and parentade with
Spaine. To which purpose he contracteth in marriage
with Ioan (his Aunt) who was daughter to Ferdinand his
grandfather, by Ioan the king of Spaines sister. He mari-
eth her: and the Pope by his Bull of dispensation, ratifies
the match. Thus, what neither the law of nations allow-

Arist. rhet. 3

Plut. apop.

Eurip.

Plin. paneg.

Lini. 34.

Seneca.

Curt. 1. 10.

Peri. Sen. 3.

Eurip. in. Iph.

eth, nor much lesse the Diuine law, which expressely forbiddeth it, the Prince without conscience admitteth, and the Pope without shame permitteth.

APHORISME XLIII.



Scarres (1) in a souldiers face, are the markes of honour; and wounds in his weake bodie, are strong pleader for reward. (2) Such therefore as shall lose any limbe in their countries seruice, and be disabled for other employments, are by law and their right to be maintained at the countreyes charges: for, Reward is as strong a supporter of the State, as punishment. Wherefore they who actually performe what such lawes iustly provide, deserue the sword of a souldier to be drawne for them in their need, and to be inrolled in the register of Fame for euer.

(1) Iusto Cicatrix paria bello, honesta faciem.

Speciosum pro iustitia acceperim vulnus.

(2) Socrates interrogatus quanam ciuitas rite gubernari possit respondit: Cum boni inuitantur premijs, iniusti dant penas.

Di grandissimo momento sarà, che il Soldato sia sicuro, che se bene egli nella guerra resterà stroppiato & impotente, il Principe non l'abbandonerà, anzi il prouederà d' honesto trattenimento, & modo di viuere.

Sic Tullus Hostilius, agrum magnum & uberem, promisi diuidi viris inter Romanos milites inopes.

Eo impenditur labor ac periculum, unde emolumentum aq. bonos speratur.

Nil non aggressuri sunt homines si magna conantibus magna premia proponantur.

Premia bonorum malorumq. bonos malosq. faciunt.

Quis etiam virtutem amplectitur ipsa? Premia stollis?

Homo quum sit animalium omnium generosissimum, non tam minus ac supplicijs cogi, quam premijs oportet ad officium inuitari legibus.

The State of Venice, presently after the memorable battell of Taro, calls in consideration the good seruice there done by those souldiers of their owne dominion, and in their entertainment. They thinke of a meanes to reward them, and resolve is this: The Marquis of Mantua,

Gonzaga,

Petrarch.

Idem.

Et Platone.

Reg. Seneca.

Dian. Halyc.

Lucl. 4.

Id. 1. 4.

Plin. Paneg.

Iguen. Sac. 10.

Xenoph. de inst.

Prin.

Gonzaga, they make Generall of all their forces, who before had but title of Gouvernour. They increase the pay of those that had borne themselves bravely in that daies service, and meant still to follow the warres. They giue competent pensions to those that had beene maimed: they giue stipends out of the publike Treasure, to their sonnes that had beene slaine in the battell, and dowries to their daughters, for their better preferment. A memorable example for other States, and remarkable to the perpetuall honour of that Commonwealth.

APHORISME XLIII.



He (1) Ciuicke Garlands and Coronets, were giuen by the old Romanes, to those Generalls that had saued the lines of many Citizens: and these were held more noble, and of greater honour, then either the Murall and Vallare Garlands, giuen to them that first entred the enemies towne or campe: or then the Nauall, for doing some braue exploit at Sea. For, they valewed the life of one of their owne, at ten of the enemye. (2) Wherefore a worthy Generall should not hazard to get that by fine force, and assault, with manifest losse of his men; which by all militarie collections, hee may be sure to carie other wise.

(1) Quod si Ciuica Corona bonos, uno aliquo, ac vel humillimo ciue seruato praeclarus accipi habetur: quid tandem existimari debet, unius virtute seruatus uniuersus exercitus?

Ciuica Corona, insigne clarissimum fuit militum: Cui cedunt Murales, Vallares, Aurea cedunt & Roborata.

(2) Harci anzi valum seruare non Glorioso, che amare multi nemici.

Malo unum Zopyrum, quam centum Babilonios capere.

Nuna vittoria è più utile, più preclara, o più preziosa, che quella che s'acquista senza danno, & senza sanguine de' suoi Soldati.

Pelopidas rogatus ut seipsum seruaret: Dux, inquit, hortandus est patris ut sciret Cines.

Alieno sanguini tanquam suo parcat, & scit, homini non esse homine prodigè viuendum.

Rien ne doit estre plus recommandée à un sage Ggouverneur, que de

Plin. nat. hist. l. 12.

Plin. l. 16. c. 3.

Scip. in Plut.

E Justin. l. 1.

Guic. l. 15.

Apophtheg.

Senec. ep. 89.

Am. Plu. Cic. m.

Vit. An. 10.

Ouid. r. 2.

Tasso cant. 9.

*de pournoir à la sauueté de ses gens, & espargner leur sang.**Come Pastor quando fremendo intorno**Il vento, e i Tuoni, e balenando i Lampi**Vede oscurar di mille Nubi il giorno.**Ritrahe le Greggie da gli aperti Campi :**Et sollecito cerca alcun soggiorno**Quel ira del Ciel sicuro scampi :**Et con grido indrizzando, e con la verga**Le mandre inanti, e a gl' ultimi s'atterga. Così il Generale, &c.*

Ariost. cant. 15.

*Gl' è vero che la vittoria sanguinosa**Spesso far suol' il Capitan men degno :**Ma quella eternamente è gloriosa,**Et de' diuini honori arrina al segno :**Quando seruando i suoi senza alcun danno,**Si fa che gl' inimici in rotta vanno.*

At the famous siege of *Nonara*, in which place were aboute seuen thousand choise souldiers for defendants, besides able men of the towne, and many of the Country fled thither for safety from the fury of the enemy, all vnder the command of the Duke of *Orleans*. The confederate forces came before the towne, consisting of three thousand men at armes, three thousand light horse, one thousand Reistres, siue thousand Italian foot, and ten thousand Lance-Knights, commanded all by the Marquis *Gonzaga* for the *Venerians*, and by *Galeazzo San Senerino* for the Duke of *Millan*. Yet would not these commanders of this royall armie, attempt to winne the place by assault, considering the manner of the fortification, the number and valour of them within the towne, and especially because the enemy armie not being yet on foot, could not possibly come to raise the siege in any conuenient time, and therefore the towne being full of people, and emptie of prouision, it must of necessitie in short time surrender.

APHO

APHORISME XLV.



*C*ustom to doe well, is like the Dyers scouring, it
clenseth and purgeth the minde of vicious dregs,
by Education: and then Reason and Exercise
finding a subiect so well prepared, giveth it the
tincture of vertue in graine. Such is the effect
of martiall practise and discipline in the exercise of Armes: it
not onely habituates and inures men to be good souldiers, but even
incorporates the vertue in them and their race. But morall ver-
tue, for want of exercise, and through dis-use, cometh to lose her
accustomed habit, and turneth to the former soile of ill manners
and vice. So doth the vertue militarie.

*Educatio & disciplina mores facit, & id sapit unusquisque quod
didicit: Itaque bona consuetudo excutere debet quod mala instruxit:
Hæc, bene docet loqui, bene facere.*

Ad id à teneris assuescere multum est.

Natura inclina à male, e viene à farsi

L' habito poi, difficile à mutarsi.

Adde quod ingenium longa rubigine laesum

Torpet, & est multo quàm fuit ante minus.

*Neque verò potest quisquam nostram subito fingi, neque cuiusquam
subito vita mutari, aut natura repente converti.*

Exercitatus labore proficit, labore consenscit.

Assuetus habitus migrat in naturam.

Nam morem fecerat usus.

Exercitatus dicitur, quod melior sit exercitando.

Consuetudine, lenior labor fit.

Pugiles castibus contusi, ne ingemiscunt quidem.

Potest bouem ferre, qui vitulum sustulerit.

Quod male fers, assuesce, feres: bene multa vetustas

Lenit. —

Solus, & artifices qui facit, usus adest.

Quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem

Testa diu. —

Cic. de mor.

Virg. Geor. 2.

Arist. cant. 36.

Ouid. Trist.

Cicero.

Veget.

Seneca.

Ouid. Met. 2.

Varro.

Liui. l. 25.

Cic. Tusc. 2.

Petron. Sat.

Ouid. art. 2.

Ouid. art. 1.

Horat. ep. 1.

in Oly. od. 1.

Herod.

Geogr. hist. l. 2.

Cur. l. 9.

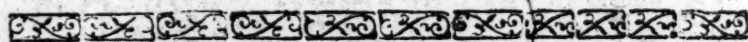
Senec. ep. 100.

Cur. l. 10.

Vir. An. 10.

The ancient French was a valiant and warlike nation
(as well testifies that warlike and famous souldier and
historian, who held it one of his greatest trophies, to
haue conquered the Gaules:) many of their kings in suc-
ceeding

succeeding ages, fearing the furie of so fierce a people, by experience of their many insurrections and bloody rebellions, tooke from them the vse and exercise of armes, and forced them to attend onely to tillage and mechanicall trades; suffering none but the Nobility or Gentry, to bee militant vnder their ensignes. Whereupon they quickly lost their ancient reputation; and since that, haue beene held the worst foot of Europe. The consideration hereof, made the French King, not dare to venture the relieuing of Nouara, till hee had leuiued strong forces of Swisse, to ioyne with his French Lances in that seruice.



APHORISME XLVI.



Contrarie (1) causes, cannot but produce contrarie effects. (2) Sanctitie and integritie of life (with purity of doctrine) gaue the first maiesty and awfull reuerence to the Sea of Rome, and made her the most eminent seat of Ecclesiasticall iurisdiction and authoritie: which, since, by the dissolute conuersation of those men, and corruption of religion in that Church, is very much diminished, and very worthily. If they will call men to their former obedience, let them first re-call themselves to their former puritie of doctrine, and integritie of life and good manners.

Arist. Interp.

Stacil.

Senec. ep. ad
Neron.

Curt. l. 4.

Liuil. 4.

Cic. fin. 2.

Plut. apop.

Bod. repl. 2.

(1) Contrariarum causarum, contrarij effectus: Et contraria ratio.

(2) — Grane & immutabile sanctis

Pondus adest verbis: Et vocem facta sequuntur.

Nemo potest personam fictam diu ferre: ficta in naturam suam cito recidunt: quibus autem veritas subest, quacunque ex solido enascuntur, in maius meliusq; procedunt.

Nulla res multitudinem efficacius regit quam superstitio.

Eo trahunt ij, quibus quaestui sunt, capsi superstitione animi.

Superstitione qui est imbutus, quietus esse nunquam potest.

Foris Antipater albo vititur pallio, intus vero totus est purpureus.

Combien que Benoist 3. & Iules 2. ayent excommunié nos Rois, si n'ont ils rien diminué, ains plus tost accroist l'obeissance des sujets. Car, il se trouue que le Porteur de la Bulle de l'interdiction, fut constitué prisonier, & la Bulle lacerée publiquement, par Arrest de la Cour.

Jean

Il faut, il me paroist as. these, n'en
avoir une vntu then. For bene

Iean de Nauarre se disant Conte Palatin, fit quelques Notaires, & legitima des Bastards, en vertu du pouuoir qu'il disoit auoir du Pape: Et fut condamné par Arrest du Parlement comme coupable de lese Maesté.

The Pope, at the instance of the State of *Venice*, and Duke of *Millan*, sends his Sergeant with a Brieffe or Mandate to the French King: Wherein hee peremptorily chargeth him to depart out of *Italie* with all his forces, within ten daies; and within certaine daies after, to call home all his souldiers out of the Kingdome of *Naples*: otherwise, that vnder paine of the Churches Censure, he faile not to appeare personally at *Rome*, to answer the contempt. The King scorning his vaine message, and proud menace, returnes him this answer: That seeing the Pope would not stay to see him, as he passed by *Rome* to *Naples*, (for indeed hee had fearfully and shamefully runne away, and durst not abide his sight) hee maruels much hee should now bee so desirous of his companie. But yet to shew his Holinesse, how dutifull a sonne hee was, it should not belong ere hee would come to him, though he made his way with the sword; and therefore that hee would haue the patience to stay till hee came. Much vnlike the effect which Pope *Adrians* message wrought in elder times, with *Desiderius* king of *Lombardie*, whom he dissuaded from a warre, wherein he was much engaged, and well aduanced, causing him and all his troopes to retire home frō *Terni* to *Pauia*. Neither is it maruell, when that ayfull and fearefull reuerence is decayed, which grew in mens hearts by admiration of the Churches sanctity and holinesse of life, if now there succeed not the like effects.

APHORISME XLVII.



Necessitie neither ruled by Law, nor ouer-ruled by Power: her force is great, not onely in a passive resistance, against all hard impressions; but in an active impetuositie, and violent passage, through all respects, obstacles, or dangers whatsoever: she will find a way, or make it. And among all her triumphs ouer man, this is not the least, she will make him honest in spite of his teeth.

Laert. l. e. 5.

Curt. l. 7.

Ljui.

Curt. l. 4.

Plin 6. ep. 19.

Phocyl sent.

E Curt. 5.

Laert. l. i. c. 1.

Adag.

Pistacius tantam necessitatis vim esse dicebat, ut nec Dij ipsi reluctari possint.

Necessitas ante rationem est: Inuenit viam, aut facit.

Durum telum necessitas.

Efficacior est omni arte, imminens necessitas.

Nonnunquam necessitati, qua pars rationis est, parendum.

Qui volens iniuste agit, malus est: Qui vero ex necessitate, non dico prorsus malum.

Necessitas acuit ingenuitatem, in armis: acuit ingenium, in arte: Nam Necessitas tropum genuit.

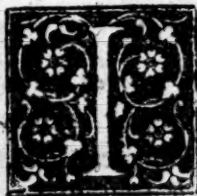
Thales interrogatus quid esset in tota rerum natura robustissimum, respondit, Necessitas, superat enim omnia.

Diomedes necessitas. De is dictum, qui coeli non sponte aliqui faciunt.

The French King had a desire to keepe still in his hands Pietra-Santa and Serezana: they were fit baits for Genoa, to hooke her to his deuotion. As desirous he was to hold Pisa and Ligorne: they were fit places to succor and refresh his shipping, that should be sent with supplies from France to Naples. The chiefe fauourites in Court are furtherers hereof, and opposers against the Florentine agents, who sue with great instance to haue them surrendred. A new accident unhappily falls out, which makes their suite more desperate, it was this: The Florentines take in by composition, Ponte-Secco. The French souldiers in the place, capitulate to depart with their liues saued. The Guascons notwithstanding, as they march out of the Port, are barbarously slaine, against all faith giuen, and law of Armes. This inceneth much

much the French campe and Court, especially those who did mediate for the Pisans: yet for all this, it was neither the kings promises often made, nor his oath one solemnly taken, (but his extreame need of money, to leuie the Swisse for the affaires of Nouara, and speedie relieuing of Naples,) which forced him to be as good as his word, to surrender vp all these places, and restore their right to their Florentines.

APHORISME XLVIII.



T(1) Sufficeth not to the strength of the armes, to haue flesh, blood, and bones, vnlesse they haue also sinewes to stretch out, or pull in, for defence of the bodie. (2) So an armie consisting of many valiant men, and furnished with all other warlike habillements, is but lame, and vlesse, and vnable to moue it selfe, without money the sinewes of warre.

(1) Νύμφη τῆς ἀναβρυαυ, τὸ χρεῖμα. Pecunia nervus belli.

La prima cosa è pensar del pane, & poi delle Gallee.

Quemadmodum homines sine nervis ambulare nequeunt, ita nec bellum usquam progredi, sine Pecunia.

(2) Δυὸς αἶμα τὸ τὸς δυνάμεις. Ἐγχεῖται, ὅρα καὶ φυλάσσεται, καὶ ἐπιμαρτυρεῖται, καὶ χρεῖματα. i. Miles & pecunia praparent, defendunt, & augent potentiam.

Ἐστὶν ὁ πόλεμος, οὐκ ὄντων τῶν πλῆθους, ἀλλὰ δυνάμεις, οἷον τὸ ἐνταυθα. i. Bellum est non in armis maximè, sed in impensis & sumptibus, per quos efficitur arma, & utilia sunt.

Cratesius celebratur Ephemerus, ad hunc habens modum:posito coquo minas decem, medico drachmam: adulatori talenta decem, consiliario sumum: scorto talentum, philosopho triobolum. Notans hominum stultitiam, qui in res honestas & cum primis necessarias minimum sumerent impendij, ad turpia prodigi.

Antequam inchoetur bellum, de copijs, expensisq., sollicitus debet esse tractatus.

Quisquis habet nummos securo nauiget anra:

The Citie of Nouara is in great distresse, for want of victuals: the French king is not able to raise forces to relieue it, for want of money. He had sent the Bailiffe

Dion.

Amir Ph.

Lip poll. 3.

Dion. l. 4.

Theucyd. l. 2.

Laert. l. 8.

Vegen. l. 3.

Petra. Sch.

It is debated by the French kings Counsell of warre in his owne presence, whether (now the Swisse are come downe) *Nouara* should bee yeilded to the Duke of *Millan*, vpon such conditions as hee offered: or that they should engage all their power and meanes, to raise the siege, and relieue the place. The Lord of *Tramouille* is for the negatiue: his reasons these. It is inglorious for so great a king, being once imbarqued in the action, to quit the place to the enemy: for, he should rather at his comming to *Asti*, not haue medled with it at all, as not belonging to himselfe, but to the Duke of *Orleans*, who likewise had iust title to the whole Duchie: but now, as the case stands, the losse of *Nouara*, can be no other in effect but the losse of *Naples*, and the destruction or ruine of all his Nobilitie and Captaines left in that kingdome, who must necessarily despaire of all succour, seeing so great an armie, as he hath here, giue way to the Italians. The successe of warre depends vpon his reputation that makes it: if this bee once lost, there consequently followes the fainting of souldiers, failing of friends, reuolting of subiects, decreasing of reuenues, encouragement of enemies, and doubling of all other difficulties: his new purchased glorie in *Naples*, will be buried in the infamous graue of *Nouara*. This peace betweene his Maiestie and the Duke of *Millan*, fits not with his present affaires: it is not made *Bona fide*, on the Dukes part: he is a Prince notoriously taxed of infidelity and fraud: a temporizer, and one that neuer keeps touch, but to serue his owne turne: the king shall no sooner bee gone, but the articles shall be broken. To raise the siege, and relieue the towne, is a matter of no great difficultie, to him that considers the greatnesse and valour of the French armie: the helpes it hath of the Country adioyning, and the enemy against whom it is to fight, being the same it had before beaten, and put to flight at *Taro*, when the French had but three thousand Swisse in his armie, whereof were now abouer twenty thousand. The benefit will be great, for all *Italie* will bee the prise to him and his souldiers:

diers ; there remaining no more forces to make head against him. Thus argues *Tramouille*, but the Prince of *Orange* aduiseeth the contrarie : and proues, that the present estate of the Kings affaires permits no time to ioyne force with wisdom: for, *Nouara* must be presently succoured, or presently yeelded, and lost. To attempt the present reliefe by force, were against all Principles of warre, and enough to lose the whole armie: the enemy was so strongly encamped, both by industry of art, and nature of the situation. To diuert him, by assailing any other place of importance, required maturity of counsaile, and length of time. Long stay were dangerous for the armie, winter growing on, & the *Swisse* being there in such numbers: a people apt to mutine vpon every occasion, but especially for want of pay, for whose long entertainment the king had no meanes. It is very true, no man can deny it, that the keeping of this place, would bee more for the kings honor, and assurance of his affaires in *Naples* : but it is not the part of a wise Commander, to endanger the whole, for a part of such difficulty. Besides, this Imprese belongs not to the K. but indirectly, considering he layes no claime to the Duchy of *Millan*: neither was it the cause of the kings coming from *Naples*, to make war in *Piedmont*. And therefore it neither engaged his honor, nor profit, to endanger all his fortunes for the keeping of that which was none of his owne. It is likely enough the Duke wil break the articles of the accord, so it is as likely that some of the confederates will fall from him. A collocation of many, is euer of this nature, there still happen occasions to loosen the knot, which being once vntied, is easily broken. This resolution is therefore to be taken, not that it is in it selfe either profitable or honorable, but that it is a rule among wise Captaine, To allow that for the best, which is of necessity, or which hath least difficulty or danger: to which we ought euer adapt all the deliberations and resolutions of our actions. *Orange* preuaileth in the cause: the towne is yeelded, and the peace concluded betweene *France* and *Millan*.

APHORISME L.



T(1) is a Prescription in the Physicall rules of diet, not to receiue more meate into the stomack then the naturall beate may well digest, and the expulsive facultie easilie discharge: lest it ouercome nature, and overthrow the state of the bodie: So is it a Militarie precept, to entertaine no more mercenaries into thine armie, then thou maist well order and vse, or discharge at thy pleasure. (2) For, as they haue not so noble ends, as other souldiers (thy naturall subiects,) so are they apt vpon euery base cause, and fit occasion, to violate all lawes of armes and discipline.

(1) *Id cauendum Ducibus, exemplaq; pro decurionis habenda, ne ita exteris credant auxilijs, ut non plus sint roboris, suarumq; proprietate virum, in castris habeant.*

Galba soleua dire, che ellegenna, non comperana soldati.

(2) *Non inberi, non regi, cunctaq; ex libidine agere volunt.*

Contra morem obsequij, contra fas disciplina, interdum in vim videntur.

Omnia tanquam externa, aut urbes hostium, urere, vastare, rapere solent.

Maiora ex aduerso mercede, ius fasq; exnunt.

Pecunia proponitur, tympanum strepit: & ecce coeunt aliquot ignoti inter se, ignorantiaq;.

Purgamenta urbium suarum.

Quorum lingua vana, manus rapacissima, gula immensa, pedes fugaces, qua honeste nominari non possunt inhonestissima.

La Mercenaria mal fida Canaglia

Prezzar gl' antichi Imperatori poco:

Da lor Nation più tosto veni

Volsan, che cento di diuerse Genti.

The Swisse that neuer fighteth but for wages, demands three whole moneths pay of the King, vpon his preparing to returne into France. They had not serued him at all in any action of warre; they were but lately come to the campe, and in greater numbers then hee had demanded: he hath now no further vse of them: besides, those Officers the king sent to raise them, had made

no

Tac. An. 6.

Am Tacit. an. 17.

Tac. de mor.

Tacit. an. 1.

Tacit. hist. 2.

Tacit. hist. 2.

Lip. & Liu. 21.

Curt. 19.

Lip. & Plaut.

Sal. & Cic.

Arist. agg. 1.

no such couenant with the: yet because (forsooth) *Lewes*
 11. the last king, had entertained them vpon such con-
 ditions, they will not be otherwise satisfied. They resolute
 to seize on the kings person, and some other of his
 Counsell and principall Lords, till they were paid. The
 king fearing the worst, hasteth himselfe out of their fin-
 gers. They lay hold vpon the Bailiffe of *Dijon*, and
 and some other officers, and will not deliuer them,
 till they had assurance and pledges from
 his Maiestie, of what they
 demanded.

APHO.

APHORISMES, CIVILL AND MILITARIE.

LIB. III.

APHORISME I.



S (1) we obserue in nature, that keene and razor wits, which will take a haire off the hand, doe turne edge at a more solide substance; and are apter for a fine conceit, then a sound deliberation: Whereas the tough and dull Axe, is able to encounter the hard and sturdie Oake, and to ouer-master him: So experience teacheth vs, that hot and fierie spirits, are apter to get a purchase, then to keepe it, and to winne the garland, then to weare it. (2) Whereas the benefit of treasure, is not in the acquisition, but in the fruition: for goods are not good, but by the vse. (3) He therefore that hath the fortune to get the victorie, but not the iudgement to make vse thereof, hath both the one and the other for his greater fall.

(1) *Omnia inconsultis impetus capta, inijs validi, spacio languescunt.*
Sed ceteri euentu nimis furor, improba nunquam
Spes letata diu.

Fortuna vitrea est, cum splendet frangitur.

(2) *Bona perinde sunt ut eius animus, qui ea possidet: Ei qui bene*
vitatur, bona: qui non vitatur, mala.

Dinitem esse in dicendo magis, quam in possidendo consistit.

(3) *Vincere scis Hannibal, ut victoria nescis.*

Vsus fructusq; victoria optimus, pax est: neque ad aliam quam ad
pacis finem iusta bella suscipiuntur.

Cum victoria uti potuit, frui maluit.

Victoriam, nec victoris animo, nec magni Ducis more, metiens.

Victoria

Tacit. hist. 3.

Claud. bell.

Get.

Prob.

Terent.

Aristot. 1.

Prob. de Han.

Petrar. dial. 103.

Varr. de Han.

Petrar. dial.

Idem,
Plut. in Cæf.

Liui. l. 28.
Senec. Troas.

Pettr. dial. 103.

Idem.

Victoria alata est, vide ne euolet.

Hodie penes hostes erat victoria: at non habebant Ducem, qui scia, victoria uti.

Ferme sit ut res secunda negligentiam creent.

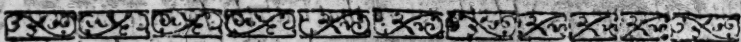
Noscere hoc primum decet

Quia facere victor debeat, victus pati.

Postquam vigisti, caue ne te vincat ira, superbia, crudelitas, furor, rabies: Hi sunt enim victoria comites, & victorum hostes, a quibus saepe clarissimi victores turpissime victi sunt.

Victor praelio saepe victus est bello.

Charles the 8. came into Italy like thunder and lightning, he is gone out like smoake. He knew how to vanquish, but not how to vse the victorie. Fortune gaue him the kingdome of Naples, and his owne error made a way to lose it. He had left an insufficient Deputy to gouerne it: weake forces to defend it: small meanes to hold it: and no money to defray them. The nauie which he sent for their succours, and money, with supplies of men from Florence, through negligence and delay came to no purpose. Himselfe makes a dishonourable retreit ouer the mountaines, not out of any feare or want of forces, but out of imprudence, disorder, and a vaine desire to bee in his owne countrey, and enjoy her pleasures. Yet more like one vanquished then a victor, and so much the more inglorious, by how much his fortune rather then his sword, had raised him to so high a pitch of glory and conquest.



APHORISME II.



*N*a Mediocritie of Fortune, men haue measured thoughts, and teddered within the limits of their meane estate: But hard it is to fore iudge of those men, how they will proue in their greater prosperity: So dangerous a bolus this is to be swallowed, well digested, and turned to good humor: For it filleth enery veine in the heart, with a windinesse of vain glorie, and thirstinesse after more: ouerflowing the bounds of Reason, Equity and Iustice.

Difficile

Difficile est, cum prestare ceteris concupueris, servare equabilitatem.
Magna in bono natura Jovis dicitur Magnam felicitatem concoquere non possunt.

Et non potest curia misa sortis. In bello, ob secundas res, exultantes.

Diri sordidi, repensè divites, mutationem fortuna male segunt, accensis egestate cupidinibus immoderati.

Fragilitatis humana, nimia in prosperis rebus oblitio est.

Prospera animos efferunt.

Res secundæ valent commutare naturam, & raro quisquam erga sua bona cautus est.

Nescia mens hominum sati sortisquæ futura,

Et servare modam rebus plerumque secundis.

Luxuriant animi rebus plerumque secundis.

Nec facile est aquâ commoda mente pati.

— Regi fræns nequit

Et ira, & ardens hostis, & victoria,

Gladiusque felix.

Arrogantia is est, qui sibi res magnas & præclaras sumit & vendicat, cum not insunt, vel maiora quam quæ insunt.

Profecto hoc sic est, & puto omnibus nobis

Ut res dant sese, magni atque humiles sumus.

All Italy resounded the praise of the Venetian Senate, and Duke of Millan, esteeming them worthy of erected Trophies to their perpetuall fame and honor: that with so wise deliberation, and noble resolution had made head against the victorious army of the French, fought with him in plaine field, and restored the Italian armes to their ancient reputation: freeing that noble Country from the sword and servitude of *Tramontanes* and strangers. And worthily had this honor been theirs, had they not presently after tainted that vertue, and eclipsed that glory, with the greedy desire of more then was their owne, by entring into the *Pisan* businesse: to their owne proper losse and infamy, and to the generall stirring of new garboiles and troubles, through all the States of Italy.

Cic. off. 2.

Fin. oly. od. 1.

Thucyd.

Tacit. hist. l. 2.

Curcl. 9.

Senec. de com.

Quint. l. 10.

Vir. Æn. 10.

Ouid. art. 2.

Sen. Troad.

Arist. an. l. 4.

Terent.

Idem.
Plut. in Cæ.

Liui. l. 21.
Senec. Troa.

Petrar. dial. 103.

Idem.

Victoria alata est, vide ne euolet.

Hodie penes hostes erat victoria: at non habebant Ducem, qui scia, victoria vti.

Ferme sit ut res secunda negligentiam creent.

Noscere hoc primum decet

Quid facere victor debeat, victus pati.

Postquam viciisti, cuue ne te vincat ira, superbia, crudelitas, furor, rabies: Hi sunt enim victoriae comites, & victorum hostes, a quibus saepe clarissimi victores turpissime victi sunt.

Victor prelo saepe victus est bello.

Charles the 8. came into Italy like thunder and lightning, he is gone out like smoake. He knew how to vanquish, but not how to vse the victorie. Fortune gaue him the kingdome of Naples, and his owne error made a way to lose it. He had left an insufficient Deputy to gouerne it: weake forces to defend it: small meanes to hold it: and no money to defray them. The nauie which he sent for their succours, and money, with supplies of men from Florence, through negligence and delay came to no purpose. Himselfe makes a dishonourable retreit ouer the mountaines, not out of any feare or want of forces, but out of imprudence, disorder, and a vaine desire to bee in his owne countrey, and enjoy her pleasures. Yet more like one vanquished then a victor, and so much the more inglorious, by how much his fortune rather then his sword, had raised him to so high a pitch of glory and conquest.

APHORISME II.



*N*a Mediocritie of Fortune, men haue measured thoughts, and teddered within the limits of their meane estate: But hard it is to fore-iudge of those men, how they will proue in their greater prosperity. So dangerous a bolus this is. to be swallowed, well digested, and turned to good humor: For it filleth enery veine in the heart, with a windinesse of vain glorie, and thirstinesse after more: ouerflowing the bounds of Reason, Equity and Iustice.

Difficile

Difficile est, cum praeferre ceteris concupisceris, servare aequabilitatem.
Magna est, ut dicitur, laetitia, cum magna sit. Magnam felicitatem concoquere non possunt.

Et postea, cum victoria magna sit. In bello, ob secundas res, exultantes.

Diis sordidi, repente divites, mutationem fortuna male tegunt, acensis egestate cupidinibus, immoderati.

Fragilitatis humana, nimia in prosperis rebus oblitio est.

Prospera animos efferunt.

Res secunda valent commutare naturam, & raro quisquam erga sua bona cautus est.

Nescia mens hominum fati sortisque futura,

Et servare modum rebus plerumque secundis.

Luxuriant animi rebus plerumque secundis,

Nec facile est aequa commoda mente pati.

— Regi franis nequit

Et ira, & ardens hostis, & victoria,

Gladusque felix. —

Arrogantia is est, qui sibi res magnas & praeclaras sumit & vendicat, cum not insunt, vel maiora quam que insunt.

Profecto hoc sic est, & puto omnibus nobis

Ut res dant sese, magni atque humiles sumus.

All Italy resounded the praise of the Venetian Senate, and Duke of Millan, esteeming them worthy of erected Trophies to their perpetuall fame and honor: that with so wise deliberation, and noble resolution had made head against the victorious army of the French, fought with him in plaine field, and restored the Italian armes to their ancient reputation: freeing that noble Country from the sword and servitude of *Tramontanes* and strangers. And worthily had this honor been theirs, had they not presently after tainted that vertue, and eclipsed that glory, with the greedy desire of more then was their owne, by entring into the *Pisan* businesse: to their owne proper losse and infamy, and to the generall stirring of new garboiles and troubles, through all the States of *Italy*.

Cic. off. 2.

Fin. oly. od. 17

Thucyd.

Tacit. hist. l. 3.

Curt. l. 9.

Senec. 4. om.

Curt. l. 10.

Vir. Aen. 10.

Ouid. art. 2.

Sen. Troad.

Arist. a. i. l. 4.

Terent.

APHORISME III.



Ineas (1) the Embassadour, after the first daies audience, could remember euery Senators name in Rome : And Cyrus was able to call euery poore Souldier by his name, that was in his Campe. Such perfect memories as these, men naturally haue of enery little wrong done vnto them. For benefits they write in dust, wrongs in marble : as well those they offer, as those they suffer. (2) Therefore the guilt of hauing done a wrong, hath such deepe impression in the iniurer, as he neuer after affieth in the party iniured, nor treateth with him in any sinceritie.

Por. in Guic.
Seneca.

Terent. Phor.

Laert. l. 5.

Salust.

Stobz.

Plaut.

Tacit. hist. 4.

Tacit. Agric.

Braf. Apop.

Cic. post. red.

Por in Guic.

(1) Chi offende scriue in Poluere ; & chi è offeso in Marmo.

Quisquis de accipiendo cogitat, oblitus accepti est, nec ullum habet maius malum cupiditas, quam quod ingrata est.

Ad hoc res redijt, si quis quid reddit, magna habenda est gratia.

Quid cito senescit ? quid tardè ? Gratia, & Iniuria.

Nulli mortalium iniuria sua parua videntur.

Apud homines beneficium cito senescit.

Si quid benefeceris, lenior plumà est gratia.

Si quid peccatum est, plumbeas iras gerunt.

(2) Proclinius est iniuria, quam beneficio vicem exoluere.

Proprium est humani ingenij odisse, quem laeseris.

Iniuria memoria tenacissima est, & beneficij breuissima.

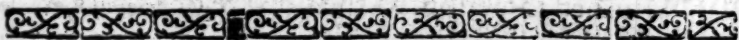
Vltiscenda iniuria facilius ratio est, quam beneficii remunerandi.

La natura di chi offende, e di ricordarsi d'hauer offeso.

Matters betweene the Duke of Millan and Charles the 8. are come to a finall composition. The articles are thus concluded at Vercelly : That ther e should be a perpetual Peace and Amitie betweene them. That Nouara should be yeilded to the Duke : That Spezie, and other places vpon the east coast of Genoa, should be reciprocally surrendered : That it should be lawfull for the King to arme as many ships as hee would in the port of Genoa, for all vses and purposes, saue onely in fauour of the enemies of that State : That for securitie hereof the Genoweses should giue sufficient pledge and hostages. That the Duke should restore the shippes taken at Rappallo, and

and the twelue Gallies arrested and seized on in *Genoa*. That the yeare following, the Duke should furnish him with three ships more for the seruice of *Naples*: That he should grant free passage through his State, to all such French troupes, as should be sent into *Italy*, so they came not aboue two hundred lances at once. That in case the King returned in person, to the imprese of *Naples*, the Duke should follow him, with a certaine proportion of forces. That the Venetians should haue three moneths respite to enter into the League: If they did, then to call home their nauie from the Kingdome of *Naples*, and to giue no assistāce to *Ferdinand*: If not, that the duke should aide him to war vpon that State, and what was wonne from them, should belong to the Duke. That he should pay the Duke of *Orleans* by March next following, the summe of fifty thousand Duckats, for his expence vpon *Nouara*. That hee should quit the King of eightie thousand of those duckats, which he borrowed of him at his first comming into *Italie*. That he should release *Triutio* from the proclamation of banishment and proscription, which was out against him. That he should set at liberty the bastard of *Burbon* taken prisoner at the battle of *Taro*, and Monsieur *Miolanes* taken at *Rappallo*. That he should call home *Fracassa* from *Pisa*, with all his and the Genowese forces, and not aide that city against the Florentines. That he should leaue the castle of *Genoa* in deposito, with the Duke of *Ferrara*, as an indifferent man betwene them, to be consigned to the King vpon the failing in any of these premisses, on the Dukes part. Meane while to put in pledges for the deliuey of the place. To all these articles the Duke of Millan condescended and sware: not in any sinceritie, for he still misdoubted the king, whom he had so many waies offended, & indeed meant himselfe to be the first that should breake: but with a desire to recouer *Nouara*, and remoue the warre from his owne State. Those articles therefore which were apparantly in his owne power, which could permit no delay, and would admit no euasion, he presently performed.

performed. He put in pledges for the castle of *Genoa*, hee set free the prisoners : he restored the shipping taken at *Rappallo* : he called home *Fracassa* : he consigned the castle into the hands of the duke of *Ferrara* : the rest, which required not present performance, and for which hee could pretend any false colour, he utterly broke.



APHORISME IIII.



He (1) *beauty of Truth is in her nakednesse, and therefore shee seekes no corners to hide it : But Falshood is vgly, if stripped bare, and therefore like ill complexions, she borroweth colours to couer her deformitie. Men iustly taxed with this foule aspersiō, are not to be treated with, much lesse trusted. (2) But hee which first and last keepe touch with his Allies, is a myrrour of men, and a patterne of Princes.*

Adag.
Viues de anima.

Sil. ad Fidem lib. 1.

Cic. Off. l. 2.

Petron. Sat.

Tacit. hist. 1.

Plin. l. 1. c. 7.

Ouid. ep. 18.

Sil. l. 4.

(1) *Nuda est veritas, nec querit angulos.*

*Nulla dua res inter se tam amica & concordēs sunt, quā virtus & veritas: Germana sunt à Deo genita, & humanis mentibus sicut utilis-
sima, & etiam integris iucundissima.*

*Ante Iouem generata, decus Diūūque hominumque,
Qua sine non tellus pacem, non aquora norunt :
Iustitia consors, tacitūque in pectore numen.*

*Satis ijs si quamcunque rimam effugio reperiant : ex qua liberatos se
esse iureiurando interpretantur.*

*Homines in duas partes sunt diuisi : aut captantur, aut captant.
Aperta odia armaque depelluntur, fraus & dolus obscura, eoque in-
euitabilia.*

Alij in ipso Capitolio fallunt, ac fulminantem peierant Iouem.

(2) *Non bone maētato caelestia numina gaudent,
Sed quae praestanda est, & sine teste fides.*

— *Optimus ille*

*Militia, cui postremum est primumque tenere
Inter bella fidem.* —

The duke of Millan, contrary to the articles at *Vercelli*, agreed vpon between him and *Charles the 8.* leaues *Lu-
cio Malvezzo* with store of forces in *Pisa*: pretending they were the *Genowese* souldiers, whom he had no autho-
rity

ity to draw thence. Hee suffers two carrackes armed at Genoa, to goe to the succours of *Ferdinand*: and alledgeth for excuse, that they were hired for that seruice of *Naples*, before the peace was concluded. Hee labours them of *Genoa* vnder hand, to deliuer no pledges; Hee perswades them not to suffer their ships, which were all ready rigged & prest for the Kings vse, to be manned with French souldiers, without good security for the restitution: a thing notably preiudiciall to the French affaires in *Naples*: but he hath this euasion, that his authority was not absolute ouer that city, but limited with such restraints, as it was lawfull for her to do what she list, in matter touching her owne particular. Yet this last was the finest fetch of all the rest: He secretly procures the Pope, to command both himselfe, and the city of *Genoa*, vpon paine of the Churches censure, to suffer no shippes to goe out of that port, for the French Kings seruice.

APHORISME V.

Here (1) is nothing more sacred, or more religiously to be obserued, then the inuiolable priuiledge and freedome of Embassadors: for, they sustaine in their person, as well the maiestie of their Master, as the manage of his affaires. No Prince therefore ought to arrest his Embassador, with whom he is not in open warre and vtter defiance, or hath had the like first offered to his owne. (2) He that doth otherwise, violates all lawes of armes and nations; and leaues example of detestation, rather then of imitation.

(1) *Legatus, vicarius est, est enim locum tenens, fiduciarium operam superioris obtinens.*

Sanctum & inuiolabile apud omnes nationes, Legatorum nomen.

Sentio igitur Legatorum cum hominum presidio munitionem sit, etiam iure diuino esse vallatum.

Legatos & caduceatores non solum constituit sacris proximis, verum etiam inter res ipsas sacras.

Si sint legati hostium nostrorum, inique queritur is qui ab hoste hostiliter accipitur: quippe hostis nihil hostile sanctum patat.

Legato-

Bud in l. post de orig. iur. is.

Cel. bel Gal. Cic. Arusp.

Pasc. de AEl

Pasch. Legat.

Tacit. hist. 1y.

Lini. 11.

Lini. 11.

Pro. Ital.

(2) *Legatorum privilegia violare, raram & inter hostes.*
De Legatis paululum addubitatum est, & quanquam visi sunt com-
mississe, ut hostium loco essent; ius tamen Gentium valuit.
Contra ius Gentium est Legatos comprehendere.
Ambasciador non porta pena.

Guy-Anthony Vespuccio the Florentine Embassadour to the French king, after his dispatch at Turin in Piemont; is returning home, through the State of Millan, without all feare or suspicion of arresting or intercepting by the way, because that Duke and the French were now in amitie, and the Common-wealth of Florence had not as yet declared her selfe enemy to either of the parties. The Duke of Millan is desirous to vnderstand the secrets of his negotiation. He sends out his Warrant to attach him in the way. He is arrested at Alexandria, brought to Millan, and hath all his writings and instructions taken from him. By these the Duke knowes the whole effect of the business concluded, and the capitulations agreed vpon betweene them and the King. Hereupon hee with the State of Venice, resolute presently to enter into the warre of Pisa against them.

APHORISME VI.



Rome (1) hath taught Nations, and Reason Men, and Nature Beasts, that self-defence is alwaies lawfull: but inuasion hath her prescribed limits. (2) For, though the law of nature, which gaue omnia omnibus, seem to allow it: yet the law of States, which made meum & tuum, restrains it to these two conditions, either to reuenge an vniust wrong, or to recover a iust right. Wherefore Glorie and Empire, are two goodly things, if gotten well: but they are no good motives to make a warre, or encroach and intrude vpon the possessions of others.

(1) *Sunt & belli sicut pacis iura: insula non minus quam foris-
 ter debet gerere.*

Libertatem

Libertatem, patriam, parentes, armis tegas.

(2) *Inuasio iusta & licita, cum iniuriam vindicias, & iura gentium res suas repetis.*

Ita bellum suscipiatur, ut nihil aliud quam pax quaesita videatur.

Cum duo sint genera decertandi, unum per discepcionem, alterum per vim: cūque illud proprium sit hominis, hoc belluarum: confugiendum est ad posterius, si uti non licet superiore.

Gloriam & imperium meditari? Peccas. Nec dirigenda aliò arma sunt, quam ad tranquillitatem & quietem.

Solus qui gloriam spernit, veram habebit: nam more Crocodili non nisi fugientem sequitur.

Is mihi videtur amplissimus, qui sua virtute in altiore locum peruenit, non qui ascendit per alterius incommodum & calamitatem.

Tu ergo quæ habent speciem gloriæ, collecta ex inanissimis splendoribus insignibus, contemne: brevis, fugacia, & caduca existima.

The strong building that at first was framed between the Italian Princes, to impeach the Venetians greatnesse, is now at length shreudly shaken: one chiefe corner stone (the king of Naples) is dislocate, and vtterly broken. The king of France is returned home, and hath left Pisa abandoned to the hazard of her owne fortune, to be banded and tossed among the Princes of Italy. She is not able to defend herselfe, nor willing to returne to the Florentine subiection; she had rather vndergoe any other miserie, or submit herselfe vnder any other gouernment. Venice casteth her eye vpon this prey, as the onely meanes to compasse the monarchie of Italy, to which she aspired. The same ambitious intent hath the Duke of Milan: though both the one and the other couered their designed end, vnder pretence of the compassion they had vpon the distressed estate, and forelorne hopes of Ferdinand King of Naples: and of intention to hinder the Florentines, from sending money, and supplies of forces to the French against him: but the truth was, as the end after shewed, that their chiefe motiue to this enterprize was ambition.

Salust. Cat.

Lip. pol. l. 5.

Cic. off. l. 3.

Cic. off. l. 2.

Lip. & Cicero

Apop Senec.

Cic. pto Ros.

Cic. Tusc. 3.

APHORISME VII.



AS it is fit, that Princes in one hand should hold those in extraordinarie place of fauour, whom they shall please; being more eminent then others, either in blood, merit, or some cause else, best knowne to themselves: So is it as requisite, that in the other hand they should hold the rod of Iustice and correction ouer them, when they abuse this fauour. For when the fauourite shall dare to contradict, or disobey the expresse commandement of his master and to giue him check-mate by stopping the draught of his power, it is intollerable: it derogateth too much from his honour that so illi bestowed the fauour, and staineth the honestie of him that so vnworthily receiued, and so vngratefully requited it.

Procop.

Sicut ignis est ut urat, & lucem praebeat: sic Regis est, ut benefacias & puniat.

Arist. pol. 1.5.

Καὶ τὸ κοινὸν τῶν βασιλέων ἐστὶν, ὅτι καὶ τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην. Κοινοῦ τοῦτο τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης. Κοινοῦ τοῦτο τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης. Κοινοῦ τοῦτο τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης. Communis imperij custodia est, neminem unum, magnum facere.

Dion. lib. 3.

Nulli amicorum aut officialium tuorum, nimis est indulgenda potentia, sed ita moderanda, ut nec te in culpam aut reprehensionem conijciant.

Tacit. Agric.

Periculosum, priuati hominis nomen, supra Principis, attolli.

Lip. pol. 1.4.

His non solum magnos honores, sed & longos dari abnuo.

Tacit. hist. 1.2.

Esto mihi solus arbiter rerum, iure ac nomine regio.

Lip. pol. 1.4.

Non solum à te precipua vis, sed etiam apud te sit.

Cicad. Q. fr.

Species ipsa gratiosi liberti, aut serui, dignitatem habere nullam potest.

Tacit. Agric.

Ne ad famam tuam gestis exultes, sed ad authorem & Ducem ut minister fortunam referas.

Martial. ep. 1.1.

Laferat ingrato leo perfidus ore magistrum,

— Ausus tam notas contaminare manus:

Sed dignas tanto persoluit crimine penas,

— Et qui non tolerat verbera, tela tulit.

D'Entraghes, a follower and creature of Ligni, the kings minion, is left Gouvernour of the Cittadell of Pisa. The Kings expresse commandement by his Letters Patents is brought to him, charging him vpon sight to surrender vp that place into the Florentines hands. He makes difficulty to obey, construing the Kings letters in a wrong sense,

sense, and sometimes denying flatly to deliuer vp the peece, till he had commission from *Ligni*, by a speciall token. The Florentines are forced to send back to the king, for a stronger warrant. The king is angry with *Ligni*: commands his pleasure to bee fulfilled, and a man of worth and authority to be sent to *d'Entraghes*, for dispatch of the businesse. *Ligni* sends onely a priuate Gentleman, and as was thought, with commission quite contrary to the Kings direct will and pleasure: as appeared by *d'Entraghes* delay, who would not yet yeeld vp the place. To the great hinderance of the Florentine affaires, but greater derogation to the maiestie and honour of the King, and greatest imputation of insolence and obstinacie to the Minion himselfe.

APHORISME VIII.

Small (1) matters have great effects in all humane actions, but greatest in those of warre: for, one onely word mis-vnderstood, ouerthroweth many times both the action and the actors. (2) Wherefore a wise generall, should accustom his souldiers to this discipline, Neuer to take a larme, or apprehension of sudden danger, from what other doe or say; but from his owne immeditate Officer, or them in place aboue him.

(1) Nil tam leue est, quod non magne interdū rei momentū faciat. Sæpe paruis momentis magni casus: Qui ut nihil timendi sic nec contemnendi.

Nil in bello oportet contemni.

Bellum ex momentis paruarum sæpe rerum dependet.

Sæpe, vana pro veris, maxime in bello valent.

Sæpe quod falsū creditum est, veri vicem obtinuit.

Vn petit accidēt, est souuentes fois le commencement des grands maux.

(2) Ex quocunque vel lenissimo motu, in fugā conijctur miles, & ceteris meliū incutere solet: itaque vel imprimis hoc cauere debet prudens Imperator, ne tales aliqua vocēs, vel à se, vel à suis, in aliū finem emissæ, male intellectæ motus alicuius causæ fiant: Prestabit autem id si militem assuescat, ne curet cuiusquam dicta dataq., nisi eorum qui ei præfati sunt.

Liui. lib. 25.

Lip. pol. 4.

Æmy. Prob.

Liui. 32.

Liui. 34.

Curt. 18.

Am. Plur. Agia.

Mace. diff. 3.

77

Phitar.

Bo. n. 32.

Polya. Ital. s.

Nocturni terrores Cleare hi exercitum inuaserunt: At illa praecepit, si noctu tumultus oriretur, nemo rectus consurgeret: Hoc praeceptum docuit milites contemnere nocturnum terrorem.

The Factions, *Guelfe* and *Ghibelline*, had partialists in many great cities of *Italy*. In *Perugia* the *Bagliani* were chiefe of the *Guelfes*, the *Oddi* of the other. Those, had *Spoletum*, *Camerino*, and some other neighbor townes, to friend: These, had *Faligni*, and *Asefsi*. This, of the *Oddi*, being the weaker party, is banished *Perugia*. They flee to their friends: gather forces, to the number of three hundred horse, and five hundred foot: approach the citie by night. enter, and put some to the sword, the rest to flight: march forward as masters of the towne, to the head of a street butting vpon the market place. Here they finde a chaine drawne, which one of the foremost essaying to breake with his Axe, calls to them in the Ranke next behind him, (who pressed so neare as they hindred him from fetching his blow) *Backe, backe*. The word passeth from Ranke to Ranke, to them in the Reare: these, supposing it to proceed from some sudden danger, begin to flee. They before, seeing the Reare in rout, apprehend some perill on that part, and flee also amaine themselves: leauing the victorie which they had in their hands, to the enemy, by whom they were pursued, ouertaken, and slaine in great numbers.

APHORISME IX.



E (1) that will venture to sea, must provide *Biscot*, and he that will enter into warre, must haue meanes of his owne. (2) For to settle his assurance vpon the bare promise of Seconds (without couenant or caution) is to set vp his Rest when he sees but Colour: and to embarque himselfe into an affaire of charge and danger, in hope of their aid, is to put his goods in a rotten bottome. Such venturous Gamesters, often misse an encounter: and such merchant-venturers seldome escape the Counter.

Am. Pl. Age.

(1) *Il faut de Biscuit, deuant que s'embarquer.*

(2) *Con*

(2) *Consilium ab omnibus datur, periculum paucos sumis.*

Che sempre è riputato pazzo espresso

Che più si fida in altri, che in se stesso.

Incipere bellum cuiusvis licet, deponi cum victores velint.

Et in putum facile se immiserit, haud facile eduxerit: sic in bellum.

Voyez la misere d'un homme, qui se fie trop à des autres: qu'en besoinne il est contraint, de se taire.

Qui s'appuye sur les paroles, et signes de faueur des hommes, consue sans son hoste, et se trouue mal logé

Et in putum facile se immiserit, haud facile eduxerit: sic in bellum.

Parum tuta Maestas, sine viribus est.

Vilius constat armis erudire suos, quam alienos mercede conducere.

Vires regni & Romani nominis, in prima delectorum examinatione consistit.

E qual è di pazzia segno più espresso

Che per altri voler, perder se stesso.

Venice, and Millan, with the troubles of the State of Florence, that she might neither bee able to recouer Pisa, nor aide the French: to this effect, they perswade Peter Medici, and Virginio Orsini, to set vpon that State with all the force they can make: a motion plausible to them both, if they may be well backed, and seconded: to the one being banished, to recouer his country; to the other being a souldier, to be in action & entertainment. They make this faire offer, for a better ground of the designe, that while they two shall giue vpon that State, on the side towards Siena, Bentinoglio their stipendiary, shall assaile them towards Bologna, and the sonnes of Katherine Zforza (in pay with the Duke) shall set vpon that part towards Romagna, and so they shall be beset on euery side. Medici and Orsini enter the action, in hope of these seconds: but Bentinoglio will not embroile himselfe in troubles, against so potent a State and neighbor, for another mans interest: the Duke falls off, because, though he wished ill to Florence, yet he was loath that Medici, whom he had so much wronged, should be rimpatriate, & recouer his greatnes. Venice alone would not be at the charge. The Riarij, sons of the Lady, could doe little of themselves. And so the enterprize quailed, to the great losse onely of those that engaged themselves ouer-far, in hope of these seconds.

Fac. hist. l. 3.

Arist. Ca. 40.

Salust. lug.

Lip. poll. l. 5.

Am. Plut.

Gracc.

Ibidem.

Aristoph.

Liui. lib. 11.

Veg. l. 1. c. 24.

Ibid.

Arist. Ca. 14.

APHORISME X.



HHe (1) old Spartane that had conquered by policy offered an oxe: but he that preuailed by force, offered onely a cocke: Because the greater sacrifice of thankfulness was due to the gods from him, and the greater praise and reward was due to him from the State. (2) But this is the greatest glory of all, to drive out the nayle of thine enemies practise, with a stronger of thine owne, and to blow him up in his owne mine. Policy against force deserveth much, and preuaileth often, but by stratageme to preuaile against pollicie, is ever excellent.

Plutarch.

Marcell.

Thucyd. l. 9.

Thucyd. l. 5.

Adag. Poly.

Maccia disc. l. 3.

Tac. An. l. 2.

Salust. Cat.

Vlpian l. 1.

Tasso, cant. 4.

(1) Οὗτος αὖ ἐν Σπάρτῃ ὅτι νικῶν ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος, ὁ αὖ δὲ ἀνατὴν, ὁ νικῶν δὲ, ὁ βίβληται δὲ ἀνθρώπων.
 (2) Spar. x. ille qui rem dolo aut suasionē confregit, bonem immolat: qui praelio, Gallum.

Facinorum militarium, ea sunt minoris laudis, ac momenti, quae propalam ac per vim tractantur, hijs quae ex occasione, & per dolum.

(2) Illa belli furia pulcherrimam laudem habent, per qua hostes maximè decipiuntur, & amici plurimùm iuvantur.

Malo nodo malum quarendum est inueni.

Quamvis in ceteris humanis actionibus omnibus, detestabilis sit usus fraudis, tamen in bello gerendo, dolo quis summa cum laude uti poterit: nec minùs gloriosum est, hostem dolo, quàm viribus superare.

Plura consilio, quàm vi perficiuntur.

Periculo atque negotijs compertum est, plurimùm ingenium posse.

Romani veteres bonum dolum dicebant: & pro soleteria hoc nomen accipiebant, maximè si adversus hostem, latronemve quis machinaretur.

Fra lor' entrate, e in ultimo lor' danno,

Hor' la forza s' adopri, & hor' l'inganno.

The souldiers of Ferdinand plot with some of the French garrison in Gifone castle, neare San-Seuerino, to betray the place vnto them: the French entertaine the motion, and assigne an houre, and the manner, for the execution: meane while they secretly acquaint the gouernour. The Arragoneses come at the time appointed: find a port open: and enter: they are taken in the trappe: seven hundred of them, part horse, and part foot, are slaine on the place: the rest are taken prisoners.

APHO-

APHORISME XI.



ALL (1) things haue their time. The Romane that wondered at those peoples folly, who played with their little dogges and munkeyes, hauing little children of their owne to play with: what would hee haue said to such, who pursue their delights with greatest earnestnesse, when they are farre engaged in businesse of greatest consequence? For, wee should deale with our pleasures, as with little whelps: Neuer play with them, but when we haue nothing to doe: or for want of better company. (2) That Prince therefore that preferres the sweet of his delights, before the care of his safety, and loues his ease more then his honour, makes his enemy the stronger to offend him, and disables himselfe of all meanes of defence. These appetites that are rather liquorous of toothsome then wholesome things, are dangerous as well in States, as in mens bodies.

(1) *Rex eligitur, non ut sese moliter curet, sed ut per ipsum, ij qui elegerunt, bene beateq. agant.*

Malus ille, qui ex magna fortuna licentiam tantum usurpat.

Maximo imperio, maxima cura inest.

Princeps remissum aliquando animum habebit, numquam solutum.

Est virtus placitis abstinuisse bonis.

— *Sanè hercle homo voluptati obsequens.*

Fuit dum vixit: & qui sic sunt haud multum heredem iuuant.

(2) *Tu ciuem, patrémque geras, tu consule cunctis:*

Quippe nec ira deum tantum, nec tela, nec hostes,

Quantum sola nocet animis illapsa voluptas.

Solent vinentes despicabiles fieri, & multas opportunitates præbent insidiantibus.

Nemo celerius opprimitur, quam qui nihil timet.

Magna imperia non continentur ignauia: sed virorum armorumque faciendum certamen.

Sperne voluptates: nocet emptæ dolore voluptas.

Fera est, mancipans sibi homines voluptas: vel potius monstra, nam si apertè pugnaret, citò caperetur: nunc autem etiam ideo inuisa magis, quod celat inimicitiam, induta habitum beneuolentiæ: itaque dupliciter auersanda, & quod nocet, & quod fallit.

Xen. dict. & fact.
Soc. 13.

Tacit. hist. 4.

Ibid.

Tacit. hist. 3.

Ouid.

Ter. Hecyr.

Sil. l. 15.

Arist. pol. l. 5.

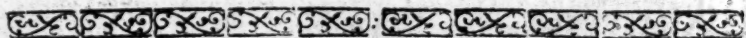
Tacit. an. 15.

Hor. ep. l. 1.

Plu. l. cont. voluptat.

Monpensier

Monpensier can doe no great good in *Naples*, for want of money to pay his souldiers : especially the *Suisse*. *Don Frederick* and *Don Casar* of *Arragon*, put the French party to the worse in *Puglia*. The Count *Pepoli* hath much the better vpon *Gratiano*, in *Abbruzzi*. *D' Aubigni* is sicke, and *Gonsaluo* the great Captaine, winnes daily ground vpon him in *Calabria*. Thus ouer all that kingdome the French goes to the wall. The King of Spaine is come in person, with a great armie as farre as *Perpignan*, and his Spanish troopes, without resistance, rauage, and harrey all ouer *Languedoc* : yet for all these aduantages, *Ferdinand* (to enioy the kingdome of *Naples* quietly) offers to hold it of the French King : and to pay him the yearely tribute of fifty thousand Duckats. *Charles* the 8. notwithstanding these hard tearmes, wherein his affaires stood, refuseth the offer : makes light of the Spanish incursions : provides neither money nor supplies for *Naples*. But giues himselfe wholly ouer to his delights, of the Tilt, Tourney, and other Court pleasures : like one that was neither capable to maintaine a warre, nor entertaine a peace. To the great declination of his affaires in *Italy*, and blemish of his reputation in the world.



APHORISME XII.



Authority (1) is the life and soule of a Monarchie : And contempt of the Prince in a subiect, is more dangerous then hate : for, it is betier to liue in a State, where nothing is lawfull, then there where a man may doe what hee list. (2) That Prince therefore, who suffers the Vassall, to turne his lawfull obedience, into wilfull contumacy, without condigne punishment, hindreth his present affaires, and dishonoureth his present gouernment.

Seneca Med.

(1) *Nemo potentes aggredi tentus potest.**Authoritatem.*

Authoritatem tolle, tollis Regnum: omnisq. hic Imperij contextus, in multas partes dissiliet.

Ad fidem faciendam auctoritas queritur.

Ne patiatur hebescere aciem auctoritatis suae.

(2) Contemptus, pessima omnino res est Regis: quorum anima & vita, ipsa est auctoritas.

Contemptus, mors est, & interitus regnorum: immò supra odium, aliquo aspectu.

Causa prima & motio evertendis regnis, plerumque ab odio fit: sed extrema & efficax maxime a contemptu.

Contemptus excutit timoris frangum, & efficit, ut non velis solum, sed audeas & tentes.

Malum est Principem habere, sub quo nihil ulli liceat: Peius verò cum sub quo omnia omnibus.

Cum due cause sint, ob quas insurgitur in tyrannos: Odium, & Contemptus: alteram earum adesse tyrannis oportet, odium: è contemptu verò pluri me fiunt Eversionum.

Ut qui obusio freno conatur equum domare excutitur, equo contemneute fræum: sic qui populum vincere conatur, non satis instructus potentia, ab imperio deturbatur.

The French king offended with d^r Entraghes, Gouverneur of the Cattadell of Pisa, for his disobedience and contumacie, in not yeelding vp the place vpon his first command, sends him now a new order, more strict and peremptory, with menacing threats, if hee should faile to execute forthwith this his expresse will and commandement. The message is brought him by Gemel. Hee still persisteth in his obstinate disobedience. Bona a kinsman of his owne, is sent vnto him, to perswade him, whom d^r Entraghes drawes to be of his mind. These two trafficke with Lucio Maluzzo, the Duke of Millans factor, in that businesse. They sell vnto the Pisans the Cittadell (which the King commanded should bee surrendered to the Floretines) for twenty thousand Duckats: whereof, they diuide eight among the garrison, themselves share the rest. They consign it into the hands of the Pisans: by this consignment, the Citie was wholly at the deuotion of the confederates, the Kings professed enemies, and the French in Naples, could haue neither the men nor the money promised by the Florentines. Againe, the bastard of Bibbienna, Gouvernor of Serezana, by order and com-

Sen. de Clem.

Cic. topic.

Cic. Cat.

Lip. poll. 4.

Id. ibid.

Lip. poll. 5.

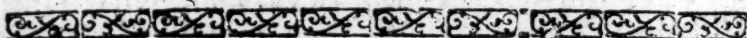
Lip. pol. 1. 4.

Dion.

Arist. poll. 5.

Plin.

mission from *Ligni* the Kings minion, sels the towne to the Genowese, for twentie five thousand Dukats: Whereas the King his master had sent expresse order to him by *Robert de Vesté* a Gentleman of his chamber, that it should be re-delivered to the Florentines, whose commissaries and officers were already come to take possession. The like did the Castellane of *Serezzanello*. Besides, *d'Entraghes* (vnder whose gouernment were the fortresses of *Pietrasanta*, *Mutrone*, and *Libra fatta*) keeps this last Peece still in his hands, and sels the other two, by the perswasion of the Duke of *Millan*, to the *Lucchesi*. Matters vncredible, that a Kings pleasure should be thus crossed, his will disobeyed, and his lenitie abused: except only to those, who knew the weakness and inconstancy of this Prince, how little power he had among his owne, and how much euery one will dare to prelu me in a State, and against a Prince, vnder whom any thing is lawfull.



APHORISME XIII.



He (1) best armour of roose and tower of defence to a Prince, are his vertues, if hee command ouer loyall subiects: and the best Bridles for head-strong rebels are Cittadels, then which nothing is more necessary to curbe and restraine them. (2) But such people, who hold themselves subiects, not slaues, call them the Nests of Tyrants: and therefore when they get them into their hands, demoli^{sh} them to the very foundation. As therefore it is good pollicie, to restraine that nature by force, which will not be wonne by faire meanes: so on the other side, it is a great ease to the offender, to see the rod burnt. Wherefore a people should either not deserue them, or endure them, and a Prince should either not build them, or keepe them safe from surprisall.

From Dial

(1) *Circumnalla pijs animum intentionibus, honestis vitā artibus: prudentiam & fortitudinem ante fores loca: insittiam ac modestiā in propugnaculis: humanitatem & mansuetudinem vndique in muris:*

Item

*speciem & fidem arcis in medio: providentiam supremo turris in vertice:
bonam denique famam in circuitu.*

*Ut subditi quos suspectos habemus, in officio contineantur, sunt
muris, fossis, & propugnaculis coercendi.*

— Urbem premit,

Et contumacem regibus populum suum

Habet sub ictu.

Vbiq. arces sunt compedes libertatis,

Verè sedes servitutis.

*Ego ubi ostendam intissimam munitissimamq. arcem, sine muris, sine
turribus, sine ullo proptus operoso rerum apparatu. Si vis tuto vivere,
bene vire: nil virtute securius.*

(2) Domiti ut pareant: non ut serviant.

*Non assuerit frenis servitutis, summa gentium inflatq. cervices,
facile ab impoſita ingo resiliunt.*

*Sicut in corporis agris, nihil quod nociturum est Medici relin-
quunt, sic quicquid obstat imperio, sine saluti, recidendum est.*

Durum, inuisum, & graue est, seruitia ferre.

*Nids de la tyrannie, ne doinent pas demeurer au bout: ains deman-
dent d'estre nages: apres que les fumettes & mal-encontreux oiseaux de
proye, logez dedans, son deslogez.*

Thucyd. 4.

Sen. Thyest.

Petr. dial. 82.

Tacit. Agric.

Petr. dial.

Lip. pol. 1. 4.

Flor. 1. 1.

Curt. 1. 6.

Senec. Tro.

Am. Plut.

Deia.

The Pisans haue bought the Cittadell for 20000
Duckats: a purchase deare to them that were so poore:
for of this summe, they were forced to borrow foure
thousand of the Duke of Millan: as much of the State of
Venice, other foure thousand of Genoa and Lucca, the rest
they made vp of their owne. The place is no sooner put
into their hands, but the whole citie, men and women
runne all pell-mell to the razing thereof, and neuer giue
ouer, while there is one stone standing vpon another.

APHORISME XIII.



He (1) vaine-glorious man looks vpon himselfe through a false glasse; which makes enery thing seeme fairer and greater then it is. And this flatuous humour, filleth the empty bladder of his vaste thoughts, with so much winde of pride, as he presumes, that Fortune, who hath once beene his good Mistris, should euer be his Hand-maid. But the wings of selfe-cōceit, wherewith he to wretch so high, are patched of borrowed feathers, and these impeded in the soft waxe of vncertaine hope, which vpon the encounter of euery small heat of danger, will melt and faile him. (2) For Fortune deales with him, as the Eagle with the Tortoise, she caries him the higher, that shee may breake him the easilier. (3) And therefore a Prince, in the midst of his prosperitie, must thinke of the worlds instability: and that Fortune is constant in nothing but Inconstancie.

Ea-Menander.

(1) *Quo tibi maxime places, id ipsum te pessum dabit, nempe opinio quæ tibi aliquis esse videtur: perdidisti enim viam, alios infinitos.*

Tacit.an. l.3.

Lasæ omnia sibi fugiunt.

Prob.

Rebus secundis etiam egregy Duces insoleſcunt: Nimia hæc autem fiducia, magna calamitatis solet esse.

Senec. Oed.

Res secundæ non habent vnguam modum.

Sil. l. 1.

Hæc cæca mentes, tumefaciunt, corda secundæ.

Ouid. Met. 6.

Sum felix, quis enim neget hoc? felixq; manebo:

Hoc quoque quis dubitet? intum me copia fecit,

Maior sum quam cui possit Fortuna nocere.

Sen. Agam.

(2) — *Clades præscire qui refugit suas,*

Græuas timorem: dubia plus torquent mala.

Sen. Theb.

Licet omne tecum Græcia robur trabas,

Licet arma longè miles, & latè explicet:

Fortuna semper belli ancipiti est loco.

Menander.

Ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐπιτυχίας τῆς δόξης. ἰ. Πᾶν ἀρρογαντία ἐφυγίτ νῆμος σου.

Tolluntur in altum, vt lapsu graviora ruant.

Seneca:

(3) *Non minus in secundis aduersa, quam in aduersis secunda, cogitanda sunt.*

Infin. l. 31.

Continentia & moderatio in altissima quaque fortuna, eminentissimi bonum.

Ouid. l. 6.

Licet felicitas aspirare videatur, tamen ad vltimum temeritatis non sufficit.

Curt. l. 4.

Fortune

*Fortuna mutabilitas, est immutabilis.
Quæ modo læta manet, vultus modo sumit acerbas,
Et tantum constans in leuitate sua est.*

Adag.
Ouid.

The Duke of *Millan* called himselfe the sonne of Fortune, which he presumed to hold in a band, and haue at his commandement: so vainely was he transported, and so bigge swolne with pride, because by his counsaile, the French King came downe into *Italy*. *Medici*, who loued him not, was banished *Florence*. *Florence* which opposed his designs, had lost *Pisa*: and the *Arrogant*, his capital enemies, were driuen out of *Naples*. Againe, when the state of things altered in *Italy*, and that he found it fitting his purpose, hee wrought the returne of *Ferdinand* into his lost Kingdome: he plotted and effected the combination, of many potentates, against the French King: and was the chiefe cause of his dishonourable retreat out of *Italy*. This makes him mis-prise and vnder-vaile, the pollicy and wisdom of all other Princes, in respect of his owne: to take vpon him the manage and direction of all affaires in *Italy*: and to presume of like continuance of successe, in all his future actions. But the euent shewed shortly to his cost, and losse both of State and libertie, how farre wide hee was of the true account, when hee cast vp this false recoking, of what he had done, and was due vnto him: but forgot those his debts to Fortune, and Nature, which all wise Princes are carefull of.

APHORISME XV.



Lder (1) times held her to haue sufficient dower, that was vertuously endowed: But these latter hold her good enough, that hath goods enough. (2) So saith it in publike purchases: for, the old position was this, Iustice is to be preferred before profit: But now the tearmes are transposed in the proposition: and the ambitious desire of rule, neuer disputeth the equitie, but the benefit of the action it vndertaketh.

Thus standeth the observation, but the precept teacheth the contrary.

Plaut. Aul.

Auson.

Horat.

Plaut. Peria.

Plaut. L. 2. d. 1. c. 2.

Quintil. 3. 1.

Demost.

Curt. 1. 6.

Lin. 28.

Tacit. an. 13.

Ariost. Cant. 44.

(1) *Dummodo morata bene veniat, dotata est satis.*

Quæ dos matronæ pulcherrima? vita pudica.

Vxorem cum dote, fidemq; & amicos,

Et genus, & formam, regina pecunia donat.

Tace stulta, non tu nunc hominum mores vides,

Cuiusmodi hic cum mala fama facili nubitur.

Dum dos sit, nullum vitium visto vertitur.

(2) *Le Ragioni di Stato, si vestono di molti rispetti particolari, con i quali i Principi (tenuta ô solo ô principal mente conto di ciò, che lor torna più comodo et utile) non chiamano ne' suoi consigli, La Guisistia, ô l'equità: ô non l'attribuiscono quella parte, che se le aene.*

Quæ toto orbis terrarum committuntur scelera, plerumque ex cupiditate nascuntur.

Non est apud eos qui immodica cupiditate ducuntur, quicquam firmi vel sancti.

Auida spes regni, præcipitem animum, ad ultimum nefas impellit.

Maximum cupiditas imperij, malum inter mortales est.

Vnde utilitas ostendebatur, illud libidinem transferebat.

Quindi annient' che tra' Principi e signori,

Passe Conuention' sono si frali:

Fan lega hoggi, Re, Papi, imperadori.

Doman saran nemici capitali:

Perche quell' apparenze esteriori

Non hanno i Cor, non han gl'animi tali,

Che non mirando al torto, più ch'al dritto,

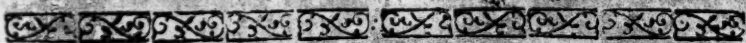
Assendon solamente à lor profitto.

The State of Venice deliberates, whether to vndertake the protection of Pisa, or not: she calles not in question the iustice of the action, to defend rebels against their lawfull Lords, but, whether she should do it at her own charge, or ioyntly with others: the matter is controuersed in Senate: The grauer and wiser sort are for the negatiue, not to vndertake it alone. Their reasons: because it hath in it great difficulty, Pisa being so farre distant from this State by land, but tenne times farther by sea: of great expence, the Florentines being so rich, and so resolutely bent not to quit their right in that city: Of great danger, the other States of Italy being already ieaious of the Venetian greatnesse, would now vndoubtedly combine themselves against her: especially Zforza

(out

out of emulation and enuy, that he should get this sweet morsell from him, for which he had so long, and so greedily gaped) would fall to his old trick of calling in the French nation, to a new trouble and disturbance of the quiet of *Italy*. It were therefore good pollicy to ioyne with him, in the protection, lest the Pisans should wholly submit themselues vnder him: but in no case to draw vpon their own head, such a weight of charge, & such a world of enuy, where there is no imminent nor vrgent necessity. For, præcipitate deliberations and hazardous, are only necessary to those, that stand vpon sinister and desperate tearmes: nor are they voluntarily entred into, except by such great mindes as cannot expect, but will needs take the first occasion offered: Whereas *Venice*, being (in respect of other Kings and Princes,) as it were immortall, and alwaies the same, had no such reason to hasten her deliberations, while the fruit was greene, but to stay the ripening, till the times were more fauourable and fit for her purposed desseignes. These were the allegations for the negatiue. But *Augustino Barbarigo*, and the greater part of the Councell, are for the contrary: because it was an action of honour, to protect the oppressed: an act of iust reuenge, to distresse the Florentines, who had for many yeares, impeached the greatnesse of *Venice*, as well in her desseigne vpon *Millan*, presently after the death of *Phillip Maria* Visconty, as lately in her warres against *Ferrara*: An action of profit, the Citie of *Pisa* being the fittest Scale for *Venice* to climbe to that height of soueraigntie and monarchie of *Italie*, to which she aspired. Besides, as the present State of things stood, all the other neighbour Princes, were not able to oppose against her. And as for *Zforza*, hee had so much wronged the French already, as hee would neuer dare to call him in againe. Considering therefore how seldome such faire occasions bee offered, and what weaknesse it is to ouer-slippe them; they ought, for the glory of their State, and enlargement of her dominions, notwithstanding all dangers, and difficulties propounded (whereof

(whereof many by the benefit of Fortune and chance neuer happen, and the rest may by prouidence be fore-seen and preuented) vndertake the protection of Pisa. The former opinion had the stronger reasons, but this the stronger party, and preuailed.



APHORISME XVI.



HE (1) that weareth his heart in his fore-head, and is of an ouert and transparent nature, through whose words, as through cristall, ye may see into euery corner of his thoughts: That man is fitter for a table of good fellow/ship, then a Councell table: For vpon the Theater of publicke imployment either in peace or war, the actors must of necessity weare vizards, and change them in euery Scene. Because, the generall good and safety of a State, is the Center in which all their actions, and counsailes, must meet: To which men cannot alwaies arrive by plaine pathes, and beaten waters. (2) Wherefore a Prince may pretend a desire of friendship with the weaker, when hee meanes, and must, contract it with the stronger. Hee may sometimes leane the common high way, and take downe an vn-used by-path, in the lesser of dangers, so hee be sure to recompence it in the greater of safetie.

Lip. poll. 4.

Sto. de prud.

¶ Terent.

Lip. poll. 4.

Cic. ep. 19.

Ouid. Fast. 2.

Ouid. art. 2.

Cic. off. 2.

Tacit. An. 14.

(1) *Aperti isti & simplices, qui animum in fronte promptum gerunt, nunquam apti sunt theatro publico.*

Vt vitrum quia pellucidum est nihile latet: ita quidam nihil regere, nihil dissimulare norunt: quicquid in animo est, id protinus omnibus palam est.

— *Plenus rimarum hanc illac perfluit:*

(2) *Vinum, vinum esse non desinit, si aqua leuiter temperatum: nec prudentia, prudentia, si gustula in ea fraudis.*

Si recta portu tenere nequeas, id ipsum mutata, velificatione, assequaris.

Brutus erat stulti sapiens imitator, ut esset

Tutus ab insidijs, diue tyrannicis.

Perile multum dissimulasse fuit.

Proprium hoc est prudentia, conciliare sibi animos hominum, et ad usus suos adiungere.

Hoc poni debet inter magna illa exempla, quae habens aliqua communi, quod aduersus singulos, utilitate publica rependitur.

Necessa-

Necessarium est in parvis à iustitia abire, quicquam saluam velint in magnis.

Societatem alterius palam induci ad alterum per occultis, & fida magis inclina.

Lip & Plutar.

Tacit. an. 13.

The Venetians and Duke of Milan, labour their stpendiary Iohn Bentiuoglio, to war vpon the Florentine, on that side towards Bologna. They offer (in case he gat Pistoia) to keepe it for him at their charge. He puts them in hope to vndertake the action, not holding it safe for the present, to deny them any thing: his citie and his proper inheritance being seated in the middest of the confederates. But feareing likewise the descent of the French army into those parts, and greater danger that way, he sendeth secretly to the King, to excuse the matter: promisetb to depend wholly vpon him, and for his sake not to molest the Florentines.

APHORISME XVII.



Nothing is deare, that is not of necessity. Some things are prized at a high rate, either for the raritie of the matter, or curiosity of the workmanship: but these (being onely for ornament and pleasure) are not deare, because we may be without them. Things of ordinarie vse, are at reasonable rates; because there be many sellers, as well as buyers: but things of extreame necessity, are valued according to his need that must haue them. For though so small a thing as the twig of a bough will saue a man from drowning, yet if he meet with a hard Chapman, he must giue him his asking, least he sinke and perish. So must a Prince that is on the losing hand, rather yeeld to any vnreasonable demaunds, then to lose all; for losers must be no choosers; nor beggars their owne caruers but contented to part with a part, that they may saue the rest.

Potius quam venias in periculum, diuidium face.

Melius, diuidium tranquille obtinere, quam de toto dimicantes perire.

Terent.

Iul.

Nun.

191

Mac. disp. 2.

Lip. pol. 5.

Hor. 1. od. 14.

Senec.

Tercat.

Val. Max.

Nunquam enim tam iniquæ conditiones deferuntur, quin aliquid boni habeant. & in quo tu vicisse videri queas.

Rebus inclinatis, melius est vi te inclines.

Durum sed lenius fit patientia — quicquid corrigere est nefas.

Feras quod lædis, vi quod prodest perferas.

Redime te captum, quàm queas minimo.

Cedit interdum generosus spiritus utilitati, & fortuna viribus succumbit: ubi, nisi tutiora consilia elegerit, speciosa sequenti cōcedendum est.

Ferdinand is without money, and vterly vnable of himselfe to recouer his kingdome. He therefore desires to be comprised with the other confederates, in their League offensive and defensive against *France*. The Venetians knowing his wants to be the fittest meanes for them to compasse their desseigne, of sharing some part in that kingdome, oppose stily against him, and will not haue him admitted. He despaires of any more helpe from *Spaine*: and the other Colleagues refuse to engage themselves in so great an expence. He must of necessitie yeeld some important places to the Venetians, such as lay fittest for them, and vpon the sea, or else be sure to lose all. He therefore chooseth the lesse of euills, & couenanteth with that State, to consigne into her hands *Otranto*, *Brindisi* and *Trani*: besides *Mónopoli*, and *Pulignano* (which she held already) till she had rimborfed all her charges of that warre: provided, that the summe exceed not two hundred thousand Duckats. In consideration whereof, that State is to aide him with seuen hundred men at armes, five hundred light horse, three thousand foote, and the naue she had there on that side already: not to recall those forces, but for her owne defence. And lastly, for his present necessitie, she is to supply him with the Imprest of fiftene thousand Duckats.

APHORISME XVIII.



Some (1) States haue got more vpon their neighbours by treaties, then by the sword, through their serious consultations, and slow resolutions. For, euery thing is done soone enough, that is well enough done: (2) Wherefore, great actions require great deliberations; and (if once resolved) speedy execution. All delaies in this case are dangerous: especially such as are vpon triuiall and sleight occasions: For, they both preiudice the successe of the affaire in hand, and blemish the honour of the vndertaker. A prince therefore once embarked into an action of this nature, must not say and stay, but say and doe.

(1) Priusquam feceris, diu consulas oportet: postquam consulueris, mature opus est facto.

Non enim per se tunc res quod dicitur, sed dicitur quod dicitur. Oportet consulere tarde. cito consilia exequi.

Nam qui celeriter & ex tempore consilium dant, quae in rem sunt maxime consulant.

Ma più mal quel de gl'huomini esser buono,
Che maturo discorso non aiti,
Oue non s'habbia à ruminarui sopra
Speso alcun tempo, e molto studio, & opra.

(2) Multa impetu valida, per tadia & moras enauère.

Sæpe multis in rebus nocuit cunctatio.

Pelle moras, brevis est magni fortuna fauoris.

Tolle moras, semper nocuit differre paratis.

Cum deliberare natura ipsa difficile sit ac graue, vos ipsum adhuc multo grauius reddidistis: nam reliqui omnes ante rem rerumq; euentum deliberatione uti consueuerunt, at vos post res tum dimum deliberatis.

The French affaires in Naples are in manifest declination, and (without speedy succours) in imminent precipitation and ruine. The King calls his Nobles to counsell: resolves thus of the reparation. Triultio must goe before to Asti, as the Kings Lieutenant, with eight hundred Lances, two thousand Swisse, and as many Gascons. Thirty ships with the two great Carracks, Normandy and Rhodes, must

Salust.

Arist pol. 4.

Cic. Philip. orat. 1.

Ariost. cant. 27.

Tacit. hist. 1.

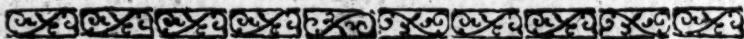
Lib. def.

Sill. 4.

Lucan. l. 1.

Demost. de Athen.

take with them vpon the coast of *Prouence* thirty Gallies, and Gallions more, laden all with men, munition, money and victuals, for the supply of that kingdome. The King himselfe, and the Duke of *Orleans*, are to follow personally, and presently after, with the Maine of all the forces. All things thus resolved and disposed, the king pretends he must first go to *S. Denis*, and *Toures*, to performe his vowes at those Shrines, as also to deale with the chiefe cities of *France*, for a leauie of greater summes of money, lest (forsooth) for want thereof, he should be driuen to such straits and shifts, as he was in his first voyage. But the truth was, the loue he bare to a Lady of the *Queenes* chamber, caried him that way, and diuerted him from the course so maturely resolved, and so resolutely vndertaken, to the great preiudice of this so important a seruice. From which, neither the dissuasion of his Councell, nor the importunate deprecation of the *Italian* exiles (euen with teares) could remoue him.



APHORISME XIX.



Rmour for war, comes out of the publicke Magazine: but the weapons of victory, are formed on the forge of Discipline. For, if they haue not this temper, they lose their edge in the triall, and turne their point into his bowels that vseth them. Wherefore, nothing is more necessary in a martiall gouernment, either for the generall good of the affaire, or safety of the souldier, then obedience.

Valer. l. 1.

Tacit. an. l. 1.

Xenoph.

Curt. l. 3.

Veget. l. 3.

Valer. l. 1.

Tacit. hist. l. 1.

Ex discipline sinu omnes triumpho manarunt.

Cum miles Centurioni, Centurio Tribuno obsequitur, facilis fit aditus ad Imperia.

Εἰς τὸ ἄλκιον οὐκ ἐν γυμνασίῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ἀγῶνι, οὗ καὶ τὰς ἀρετὰς. Est verò nihil tam utile, aut decorum hominibus, quàm ordo.

Intenti ad ducis non signum solum, sed nutum.

Paucos viros fortes natura procreat: bonis institutione plures reddit industria.

Disciplina acriter retenta, Romano imperio terrarum principatum peperit.

Parendo potius, quàm imperia ducum sciscitando, res militaris continetur.

Miles

*Miles hæc tria curare debes : corpus, ut quàm validissimum & per-
nicissimum habeat : arma apta : animum paratum ad subita imperia.
Cætera dys immortalibus & imperatori cura esse.*

Liui. L. 44.

Hemod. 9.

Plut. 12.

Eight hundred Dutch foot, come to the seruice of Fer-
dinand : they are quartered in Troia, a towne of the king-
dome, and not farre from Foggia, where Ferdinand lodged
with all his forces. The French army vnder Monpensier,
lyeth at Porcina, hard by the enemy, and betweene him
and the Dutch : these new-come souldiers, will needs of
their owne swinge, (not by any command) march out
of the towne to ioine with Ferdinand: Fabritio Colonna go-
uernour of the place, aduiseeth and chargeth them to the
contrary : he is not obeyed. In their march they are set
vpon by the French, ouercharged with number, and (ob-
stinate not to yeeld) are all cut in pieces.

APHORISME XX.



Some (1) men are safe, but not secure : Such are
they, who after a foule fact secretly committed,
or a great wrong closely offered, haue a conscience
of the guilt still dwelling in them, though the
danger of the punishment be ouerpast. For, albeit
they labour to hide it from others, and by all veiles of artifice
to keepe it from the light, yet can they neuer perswade themselues
but that it is knowne : (2) And therefore as they in their nature
euer feare the partie wronged : so the other in his reason, should
neuer assie in them. For there is no sincerity in reconciled
enemies.

(1) *Pœnitet ô si quid miserorum creditur ulli,
Pœnitet & factò torqueor ipse meo.*

Ouid. Pon. 1.

*Cumq; sit exilium, magis est mihi culpa dolori :
Estq; pati pœnam quàm meruisse minus.*

Tacit. hist. 1. 12.

Perfecto demum scelere, magnitudo eius apparet :

Potest nocenti contingere ut lateat : nocendi fides non potest.

Seneca.

Securus aliqua tutum, nulla securum tulit.

Senec. Hip.

Hec quantum misero pœna mens conscia donat ?

Lucan. 15.

Iuue. Sat. 13.

*Exemplo quodcumque malo committitur, ipsi
Displicet Authori: prima hac est vltio, quod se
Iudice, nemo nocens absolvitur.*

Ouid. Fast. 1.

*Conscia mens ut cuique sua est, ita concipit intra
Pectora, pro facto spemq; metumq; suo.*

Ari. cant. 6.

*Miser chi mal oprando si confida
Ch' ogn' bor' sarr debba il malefizio occolto:
Che, quando ogn' altro taccia, intorno grida
L'Aria, e la terra stessa, in ch' è sepolta.*

Lip. pol. l. 5.

(2) Cui illata est iniuria, ab inferente non creditur.

Sen. ep. 3.

Vtrumque in vitio est, & omnibus credere, & nulli.

Lip. pol. 4.

Reipsa paucis, at in specie omnibus crede.

Pub. Mim.

Cum inimico in gratiam nemo tuto redit.

The duke of Millan, was become of a professed friend and ally to the French King, first, a secret ill wisher to his affaires, and after, an open enemy: till the treaty at *Vercelli*. Here, they are reconciled, and a new amity and league concluded: but the Duke meanes nothing lesse, then sincere performance. He practiseth with the disloyall French in *Pisa*, to keep stil that citie from the Florentines, though the king their master had expressly commanded the contrary. He counsaileth the Pope, the Venetians, and *Ferdinand*, to combine together, for the protection thereof. He declares not himselfe openly, but closely and vnderhand he supplies them both with men, and money: Hee animates them of *Genoa* against the king, & perswades them to make stay of the shippes, that were ready in that port, for the kings seruice in *Naples*. The king is now resolved vpon his iourney for *Italy*: his preparations are great, and his comming speedy: an expedition, that concerned none more nearely then the Duke himselfe: The king sends *Rigault*, the Steward of his house, vnto him: lets him know, that now was the time, wherein hee might cancell the memory of all former wrongs: if hee would restore him his gallies detained in *Genoa*, yeeld him the carracks due by the capitulation, and suffer them to bee armed in that port, for the seruice of *Naples*. The Duke considers the equity of the demand: the danger, to haue so powerfull an enemy: the seate of his Dukedome, which was likeliest to be first exposed, to so great a great warre.

warre. Yet, the iealousie and suspicion he had in his guilt conscience, of trusting one he had wronged so much, makes him refuse to satisfie the King, and to runne other courses to his greater perill, and indeed to his final ruine, as in the sequel appeareth.

APHORISME XXI.

TWo (1) things are necessarie for a merchant : Money in the purse, and credit on the barse : So is nothing more needfull for a Prince, then treasure and reputation : He that will Physically compound a right Dosis of these two simples, must, for euery ounce of the former, put in two of the latter : So shall he preserue in health and safetie the body of his state. But, he were better to lose his reputation abroad, then not to hold it at home: For, neither his maturity of iudgement to vndertake, nor his alacritie of spirit to execute, auaille in the perfecting of his intended and resolued enterprise, where hee hath not a powerfull maiessty to command, and his Officers an awefull readinesse to doe as they are commanded.

(1) Gli Stati et le Guerre, si gouernano per lo più, con due Terzi di riputazione, & un terzo di Robba.

Duo sunt quæ Principatus comparent, augeant, seruent, milites, & pecunia.

Opus sunt opes, & sine ijs nihil fiet quod opus.

(2) Eumenes fratribus dicere solebat: Si me ut rege vñ fueritis, vobis tanquam fratribus gratificabor: sin autem tanquam fratre, ero vobis ut rex.

Imperij maiestas salutis tutela est.

Acre ea telum ad imperium, quæ multum in bellis administrandis, imperio militari valet.

Seueritas regem decet, maiestatem præstat, & dignitatem augeat.

Facultas faciendi quod cuilibet visum, non potest comprimere ingentem hominibus prauitatem.

Adhibenda est seueritas reip. causa, sine qua administrari ciuitas nulla potest.

Non enim ita natum est, ut pudori obsequatur, sed ut metui: nec ut abstineant à prauis ob turpitudinem, sed ob supplicia, & pœnas.

A militibus, imperator potius quam hostis, metui debet.

Veheementer pertinet ad bella administranda, quid hostes, magis verò quid subditi de suis imperatoribus existiment.

Por. in Guic.

Dion. l. 41.

Dem. Olyn. 1.

Poly. de pot.

Curt. l. 3.

Cic pro L. Mon.

Per. de reg.

Ari. poll. 1.

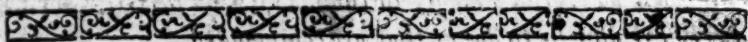
Cic. off. 2.

Arist. pol. 3.

Valer. l. 1.

Cic.

The expedition for *Naples*, after much ventilation in counsell, is resolued. The King is fully bent vpon a personall returne into *Italie*. The Nobility prepare to attend his maiestie in the voyage. Carefull order is taken, and strait charge giuen to the officers, for a full and timely prouision of all things necessary to so long a iorney, and so great an action. But the Cardinall *S. Malò*, in whose hands was the chiefe sway of the gouernement, and dispositiō of all things, being Superintendēt of the finances, delaies to disburse such summes of money, as were instantly expedient for so great preparations. The King is offended at his slacknesse: hee, knowing well the Kings soft nature, satisfies him with faire excuses, and promises, contrary to the effects. So as, when the army should set forward, the prouisions were not ready, nor any thing in such order, as the necessity of so great an affaire required: to the great preiudice of that seruice, and the vtter ruine of those distressed forces, which were left behind in the Kingdome of *Naples*.



APHORISME XXII.

THe (1) greatest assurance of an armie, is in the prudent gouernement of the Commander. The greatest weakning thereof, is by disorder, & want of discipline. The greatest cause of disorder, is want of pay. For pay is the poore souldiers *Aqua-vitæ*. (2) But want is such an *Aqua-fortis*, as it eates through the iron doores of discipline. For the enemies sword, and forraine force, doe not so easily breake the Squadrons of an armie, and put all to rout, as the steely headed weapon of this home-bred mutiner, hunger. That Prince therefore, who would be well serued, & obeyed in what he cōmandeth, must take heed, that hee suffer not a greater power in the campe, then his owne. This powerfull Commander is necessitie.

Agath

(1) *Ἡ ἀσφάλεια τοῦ στρατοῦ, ἐν τῇ συνέσει τοῦ ἀρχιστρατοῦ.* Prudentia manuum viribus prepollet.

Nullam

Nullum Numen abest, si sit Prudentia.

Non tam magnitudine rerum gestarum, quàm disciplina militari nobilitatus est.

La Disciplina è il Nervo della Militia: et disciplina chiamo l' arte di far buon soldato: & buon soldato colui, chi ardisce & obediſce.

Πῶς κέρτα μὴ δακτύλῳ τοῖς κρᾶτῆσι οὐ. Ne contra stimulos tibi imperanti-um calcitres.

(2) Disciplinam non potest seruare ieiunus exercitus.

Nec quies gentium sine armis, nec arma sine stipendijs, nec stipendia sine tributis haberi queunt.

Quibusdam ob necessitatem, maxima peccandi necessitudo.

Omnia experiri necessitas subigit: quippe cum primas spes fortuna destituit, futura presentibus videntur esse poliora.

— Sors autem ubi pessima est

Sub pedibus timor est, securaq; summa malorum.

Nullus est miseris pudor.

Magister artis, ingenijq; largitor venter.

Perdificile est ad carentem auribus ventrem verba facere: venter quippe cibi anidus, praecepta non audit.

Lysimachus superatus à Dromichete, seipsum totumq; exercitum propter sitim tradidit: Is postquam captivus bibisset, ô Dîj, inquit, quam parua voluptatis causa meipsum ex rege seruum feci!

The French armie is distressed in *Abbruzzi*, for want of money: the Commanders can neither satisfie the needy souldier, nor well agree one with another. The souldier is obedient to neither. If they command them vpon any seruice, these demand their pay, and refuse the employment. If any prey or victuals be gotten, they are vnequally distributed. The French and Swisse share all, and leaue nothing to the hungry Italians. These leaue the Campe. The Prince of *Bisignano*, with his owne troupes, goes to defend his owne Estates. The Dutch are vnpaid for many moneths: and depart to the seruice of *Ferdinand*. The necessitous armie giues ground daily to the enemy, and retires into the Prouince of *Puglia*. *Ferdinand* followes them at their heeles: cuts off all conuoyes, and stops the passages. The French are as it were coop'd vp in *Attella*: where there is neither victuals for many dayes, nor hope of succours appearing.

Bb

APHO

Iuuen. Sat. 10

Prob. de lph.

Rag. Stat. 19.

Eurip.

Cassiodor.

Tacit. hist. 4.

Tacit. an. 3.

Curt. l. 7.

Ouid. Me. 14.

Senec. Oed.

Pers. pr. Sat.

Plur. in Cato.

Polyz. Plat.

APHORISME XXIII.



Silurus (1) shafts, while they were close bound in a bundle, could neither be broken nor bowed: but taken one by one, they were easily broken in sunder. So far as with the forces of an armie, whose safetie consisteth, not only upon the unity and mutuall conjunction of the inferiours with the superiours, and of these one with another. (2) Wherefore, nothing is more dangerous in the services of warre or peace, then discord and faction among the great ones.

Plut. Apop.

(1) Scilurus octoginta liberos habens, moriturus fasciculum iaculorum singulis porrexit, iussitq. rumpere. Quod cum non possent, ipse singula iacula exemit, atque ita facile confregit omnia: filios admonens his verbis: si concordēs eritis, &c.

Polyzn. l. 1.

Hic igitur quodammodo, ut dicitur, Polyznus totius Barbaros videmus. i. Maximè vero effectum est unanimitate Ducum, ut Barbari victoriam amitterent.

Dion. l. 53.

Optimum vero inimicitias omnes, & ambitiosa certamina excindere, atque adeo nec nomina nova, aut aliud quid ex quo oriri discordia possint, ipsis permittere.

Senec. Senat.

Ibi semper est victoria, ubi concordia.

Salust. lug.

Concordia res parva crescunt, discordia magna dilabuntur.

Adag. græc.

(2) Πολυδάκτυλος Κάλως ἀμύνει. Multi Imperantes Caria perdidērunt.

Amin Tac. an. l. 1.

Non è cosa chi dia più nota à gli affari grandi, ò sieno di Pace, ò sieno di Guerra, quanto se gare de Capitani.

Liui. l. 3.

Factiones fuerunt eruntq. pluribus populis magis exitio, quam bella externa, quam fames, morbiue, quæque alia in Deum iras velut ultima publicorum malorum verunt.

Arist. poll. 5.

Nobilium factiones, trahunt ad se, & in partes, uniuersum populum.

Curt.

Discordia & seditio, omnia opportuna insidiantibus faciunt.

Virg. Egl.

Impius hac tam culta noualia miles habebit,
Barbarus has segetes? En quò discordia ciues
Perduxit miseros?

Bod. rep. l. 4.

Pour l'ambition naturelle des Magistrats, la Rep. en souffrir: & luy aduenant, ce qu'il fit à la Pucelle, pour laquelle les Poursuyuans entre-
rent en telle ialousie, & passion, qu'ils la desmembrent en pieces.

Am Plut.
Græch.

N'est pas possible que les Brebis ayent de bon temps, si les Bergers s'entrebattent.

Ferdinand takes Frangete by assault. His souldiers fall to the spoile. The Captaines seeing the enemy so neare, labour to reordinate their troupes, and bring them backe

to their colours. The souldiers disobey, and continue robbing & rifling the towne. *Monpensier* and *Virginio Orsini*, with all the French forces, are quartered, and encamped hard by: they espie the aduantage which offered it selfe vpon this disorder of the enemy. They call a Councell of warre, and perswade the other Commanders, not to slip the occasion, but to set vpon the *Arragonesse* in this confusion, there being but a narrow valley betweene them: They giue assurance (out of well grounded Principles) of a wished and successfull victory. But *Monsieur de Percé*, a man next to *Monpensier* in authoritie, out of a yong mans vanity & humor of opposition, or rather (as was credibly thought) out of the enuie hee bore to his Generals glory, withstandeth the direction, dissuadeth the enterprise, & secretly perswadeth the souldiers not to fight. With the losse of this faire occasion, fell the French affaires in those parts, into manifest declination: Many causes concurring thereunto at one and the same instant: as want of mony, scarcity of victuals, much hatred of the common people, open discord among the Captaines, obstinate disobedience of the souldiers, and almost a generall forsaking of the Campe.

APHORISME XXIII.



He two famous souldiers of Rome and Greece, which shot like two thunderbolts into the West and East, and filled the whole world with the fame of their victories, are renowned for nothing more then their celerity in doing, and preuenting the verie report of their coming. For, there is nothing so excellent in a Chiefe, as preuention: it blesteth the action with successe, and crowneth the actor with glorie. He therefore that would arriue at the Port of Victory, and by her gates enter the Tower of Fame, must saile by this way.

*Tam celer in agendo, & consulta exequendo, ut persape nuntios de
I. prauenerit.*

Suet. de Czf.

Curt. de Al.
Cicero.

*Nullam virtutem Regis istius magis, quam celeritatem laudauerim.
Boni Imperatoris signa sunt hæc: Labor in negotio, fortitudo in pe-
riculo, industria in agendo, celeritas in conficiendo.*

Valer. l. 7.

Quod temporis angustia negant, sagacitate consilij est affectus.

Xenoph. l. 6.

*Sæpenumero in bello, ea quæ geri debent, celeritate facilius, quam vi
perficiuntur.*

Chalco. l. 6.

*Celeritas plurimum momenti ad res præclare gerendas habet: ni-
hilq; magis ducem, quam celeritatem & indefessam curam in agendo,
sectari oportere certum est.*

Cæsar. Plut.

Veni, vidi, vici.

Lucan. l. 1.

— Rapi agmina Ductor

Impiger, & torto Bælearis verberare funda

Ocyor, & missa Parthi post terga sagittæ

Lucan. l. 2.

— Cæsar in omnia præceps,

Nil actum credens, cum quid superesset agendum,

Instat atrox. —

Ouid. Met. 11.

*Sed mora damnosa est, nec res dubitare remittit,
Dum superest aliquid, cuncti vocamus ad arma.*

The Castle of Laino, stands vpon the riuer Sapri, which diuides Calabria from the Principato (another Prouince of the kingdom of Naples.) The Borough is on the other side of the riuer. The Count of Meleto, and Alberigo San-Seuerino, with diuers other Barons and forces, equall to those of the Spaniard vnder Gonsaluo, are come hither. Their troupes daily increase: and their resolution is, so soone as those other forces are come which they hourly look for, to giue vpon the Spaniard. Gonsaluo is encamped at *Castro Villare*, not farre off. He hath intelligence of their purpose: resolues to preuent them: drawes forth his army a little before night: makes a sharpe and speedy march ouer the hils: sends his Foot to the Bridge, betweene the Castle and the Borough: passeth himselfe the riuer with all his horse, some two miles higher: comes to the place before day: findes the enemy secure, without Sentinell or Guard: sets vpon him: takes thirteene Barons prisoners: and all the souldiers fleeing towards the Bridge, are there by his foot either taken or slaine.

APHORISME XXV.



Hings (1) easiest got, are soonest lost. They are like Summer fruit, soone ripe, soone rotten, they cannot last out one winter of troubles. For as we obserue in all natures, of reason, sense, or vegetation, that, the sooner they come to their growth and perfection, the sooner they decline to their corruption & dissolution: So is it naturall in all Kingdomes and States, the sooner they are gotten the hardlier they are kept, & easier lost. Wherefore the greater a mans fortune is in the winning, the greater must be his care for the sure establishing of what he hath wonne.

(1) *Non durat, nec ad ultimum exit, nisi lenta felicitas.*

Εὐδαιμονία μὴ δύρανη καὶ οὐκ ἀπολείπει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὀλίγη. Qui nimium properat serius absoluit. Monet ad agnum instituenda, et non tam celeritatem quam curam adhibendam esse, ne postea sit in mora quod in operis ingressu fuerit erratum.

Immodicis rebus brevis est & rara senectus.

Ὁ ἐὺδαίμων μὴ δύνανται μακροχρόνιος ἔσθαι. O quam ruina splendida vitæ cito.

Augustus Caesar illud semper cito factum posse dici aiebat, quod cum factum esset, bene haberet: tarditatem enim quæ tuta esset, celeritati eni periculum esset coniunctum, anteponebat.

(2) *Mulii dum inferre pericula volunt, non cauent.*

Princeps habere debet ad sua conseruanda, & aliena obtinenda, idonearum rerum facultatem.

Quodque fortuna astius

Euexit atque leuauit humanas opes,

Hoc se magis suppressere fœlicem decet.

Seneca.

Adag. Poly.

Cardan.

Comic græc.

Fulgos. 17.

Sen. de ira.

Cic. de Inuic. l. 1.

Sen. Troa.

The French is straitly begirt in the towne of Attella, by the vnited forces of Ferdinand, Gonzaluo, & the Venetians. They are in want, & desperate of succors. They capitulate, and yeeld the place, with all the Artillery, and other townes that Montpensier held in the kingdome. All the other fortresses (almost) which were consigned to the keeping of others, and of whose faith and loyalty the King himselfe had the Counterpaines, follow the example of Attella. This general surrender was accompanied with a generall mortality, for of fiew thousand natural

French that were in the army, there were scarce five hundred, that liued to returne into France. Thus is Ferdinand as easily and as soone repossessed of his State, as Charles 8. was inuested with it.

APHORISME XXVI.



Actions (1) once resolved, like fixed stars, should hold one and the same station of firmenesse, they should not be subiect to irregular and retrograde motions. For, the vacillation and irresolution of a Prince, whose thoughts are whirled about the voluble Sphere of seuerall perswasions, and neuer fixed in one Center of resolved constancy, turnes to his dishonour, and preiudice of the affaire in hand. (2) He must therefore not resolve, or goe through with his resolution.

Lip. pol. 4.

Tac. hist. l. 3.

Sal. de Cic.
Salust.

Tacit. An. 13.

Tacit. de Fab.
Valent.

Claud. pan. 2.

Hor. 4. od. 9.

Tacit. hist. 1.

(1) Torpis & fœda est illa vacillatio sententiæ mutantium, & certum signum non certa mentis: idcircoque vilescit semper, qui vacillat.

Fœdæq; inconstantia, qua iusserat, vetat: qua veterat, inbet.

Aliud stans aliud sedens de rep. sentis:

Sunt qui ex aliena libidine huc illuc fluctuantes, agantur: interdum alia, deinde alia decernunt: ut eorum qui dominantur similitas atque arrogantia fert, ita bonum malumue publicum existimant.

Ad honesta ceu praua, iuxta leui haud fidendum.

Ipse inuiti cunctatione, agendi tempora consultando consumpsit: mox virumque consilium aspernatus, quod inter ancipitia deterrimus est, dum media sequitur, nec ausus est satis, nec prouidet.

(2) — Facit constantia futile ne quid

Infirmitatemque geras.

— Esto animus tibi

Rerumque prudens, & secundus

Temporibus dubijsq; rebus.

Otho humillimo cuique credulus, bonos metuens, rebus prosperis incertus. Vitellius mobilitate ingenij, quod palam abnuerat, inter secreta coniuij largitur. At in Vespasiano nihil timidum, arrogans, aut in rebus nouis nouum facit.

Charles 8. is as farre as Lyons, resolved vpon a personall and present voyage for Italie: yet hee returnes to Paris, with purpose to stay but one month, & then set forward.

Here

Here, some dissuade the iourney, because the benefit of the victory of *Millan* should not redound to him, but to the Duke of *Orleans*, to whom of right it belonged. Others aduise him not to goe, vntill he had ended all his differences with *Spaine*. Others counsaile him not to depart *France*, till he had left an heire apparant of his owne body, to so great a State, the Queene his wife being now with child. On the other side, his distressed troopes in the kingdom of *Naples*, the exiled Italians, his friends the *Florentines*, and the greater and better part of his Nobles, moue, intreat, importune, and vrge his going. He staies foure moneths in this irresolution whether to goe or stay, sometimes caried one way, sometimes another: meane while he loseth all that he held in *Naples*, and so the true end of this iourney (by procrastination and inconstancy) is vterly ouerthrowne.

APHORISME XXVII.



Eake appetites are drawne to take vnpleasing meats, by the sauerie relish which the cunning hand of the Cooke giueth them: So the Politician draweth on his confederates to actions vnpleasing, by seasoning them with the sweet sauce of profit, and gaine. For States are without naturall affections, they contract not amitie as priuate men, by a sympathy of will, and a similitude of manners; it is particular aduantage, that knits them together.

Cum utilitas ad se rapere, honestas contra renocare ad se videtur, fit ut distrahatur deliberando animus, afferatq. ancipitiē cogitandi curā. Turpe quidem dictū, sed si modo vera fateamur, Vulgus amicitias utilitate probat.

Pecunia imperijq. libido sunt quasi materies omnium malorum.

Si come alcuni cibi insipidi, ricenono sapore dalla concia che da loro il Cuoco: così i Prēcipi, essendo da se senza affezione, inclinano à questa, o à quella parte, se condo che l'interesse acconcia l'animo & affetto loro.

I Prēcipi sono di natura così fatta, che non hanno nissuno per amico, ne per inimico assolutamente: ma nelle amicizie & inimicizie si governano, secondo che lor torna commodo.

Communis

Cic.off.2.

Oui.Pon.1.

Salust. Cat.

Rag.stat.1.4.

Bot^e Poly.

Liui. l. 26.
Plaut. Stich.

*Communis utilitas, societatis maximum vinculum est.
Res animos invenit.*

Maximilian the Emperor comes with his forces into *Italy*, at the sollicitation of *Zforza* and the Venetians, to oppose with them against the French, of whose great preparations they were all affraid: they couenant to giue him thirty thousand Duckats a moneth for three moneths together. The newes of the Frenches comming growes cold: the Venetians refuse to contribute their part: *Zforza* paies all: and perswades the Emperor, with a discourse full of fraud and duplicity, to vndertake the cause of *Pisa*, and to arbitrate betweene it and *Florence*: hoping if the towne were once put in *Deposito*, into *Cæsars* hands, that he should get it of him for money: A prey which he had long thirsted after. The Venetians are willing hereunto, though they smoaked the drift of *Zforza* (which they presumed they could easily preuent) because they hoped by *Cæsars* going thither, that the *Pisans* might get the port of *Ligorne*, and then were the *Florentines* vterly deprivied of all hope, euer to recouer that citie, and themselues in a faire way to obtaine their purpose. The Emperor findes himselfe needy of money: thinkes *Pisa* a fit instrument to draw in round summes, of one of these parties, or else of the *Florentines*, he cared not whether so his turne were serued, and therefore imbraceth the action: Yet all these made their pretence, that it was for the publike good of *Italy*, to suppress the *Florentines*, and to force them quier their combination with *France*, the common enemy.

APHORISME XXVIII.



He (1) *weapon of a Generall, is his truncheon; of a souldier, his sword: he, onely to command: this, onely to execute: for, in this is the danger but of one mans life, but in that, the hazard of all. That Commander whom his companion thought*

thought to out braue, because he had receiued more wounds in the warres: And I (quoth hee) hold this the greatest imputation which euen fell iustly vpon me, that in the siege of Samo: I approached so neare to view the fortification, as my life was in danger by a shot from the wall. (2) Wherefore a Commander in chiefe should alwaies stand couered vnder the seuen fold shield of Ajax: and neuer expose his person to a parent perill, but in case of a generall ouerthrow, and manifest defeat.

(1) In milite vnus fors est, in Imperatore vniuersorum periculum. Vnus homo pluris fuit, quam vniuersa ciuitas.

Εἷς δὲ δυνάστης πᾶσι τοῖς πολέταις ἀντιπᾶν. Me vero (Ducem tuum) pro quantum (Nautibus) estimas.

(2) Dubijs praliorum exemptus, summa rerum & Imperij seipsum reseruat.

Stetit sub Aiacis clipeo septem plice reclus.

Non è cosa più indegna d'un accorto Principe, che'l commettere alla discrezione della fortuna.

Ordinatio exercitus instar humani corporis: Pectus Phalangem, manum leuis armatura milites, pedes Equitatum, caput Ducem aestima. Reliquorum si quid desit, mancus exercitus: si deficiat dux, totus inutilis.

Si status imperij, aut salus Prouinciarum, in discrimine vertatur, debet in acie stare Princeps.

Neutiquā mihi placet, quando nulla cogat res, committere se fortuna.

Rege incolumi mens omnibus una est:

Amisso rupere fidem.

Κορυδαίνος ἦτορς Galea ornatus, vel munitus Hector.

Clearchus Cyro dedit consiliū, ne ipse se in periculum offerret, sed inspectorem se pugna gereret. Pugnātem enim corpore nil magnum efficere: Si vero quid damni acceperit, omnes se perditurum quos secum haberet.

— Ah non sia vero

Ch' in vn Capo s' arrischi il Campo tutto:

Duce sei tu, non semplice Guerriero,

Publico fora & non priuato il lutto:

Tu il Senno sol, il Sceptro solo adopra,

Ponga altri pol' l'ardire, e'l ferro in opra.

The Pisans fortifie their townes, on those higher grounds, whence they had corn and prouisions, and wth stopped the Florentines free traffick to Ligorue. The Florentines, to remoue two so great inconueniences, send thither their army, vnder the command of Peter Capponi their worthy Generall, to force them of Pisa from those places, and to make the passage open. Hee besiegeth

Cc

Soiana:

Egecip.

Prob.de.Ep.

Demet. Plat.

Tacit. l. 11.

Hom. Ody. 9.

Rap. Stat. 1.

Polyzn. l. 3.

Tac. hist. 4.

Liui l. 7.

Virg. geor. 4.

Hom. od. 9.

Poly. strat. l. 2.

Tasso. cant. 7.

Sosana: encampeth vpon the riuer *Casina*: where, while himselfe is busie in person, and in place of danger, about planting his artillery for battery, he is shot with an Arquebuse from the towne, and slaine in the place. Here vpon the Campe riseth, without attempting any farther, and leaues a seruice of so great consequence effected.

APHORISME XXIX.



DHe (1) nature of deepe Dissimulation, is to hide it selfe vnder certaine vailles and filmes, like the Opticke vertue in the eye, that it may see all things and not be seene it selfe: but the most frequent & safest couert (though the most dishonest) vnder which it lies tarissed and harboured is fained friendship. (2) The wisest and readiest way to vnkennell this Foxe, and vnearth him out of this denne of fained Protestation, is by a false fire of fained Credulitie.

Cic. ad frat.

Verinus.

Sen. Hippol.

Cic. ad Lent.

Cic. offic.

Senar. Pro.

Terent. An.

Ouid.

Lip. poll. 4.

Aristoph.

(1) *Multis Simulationum involucris tegitur, & quasi velis quibusdam obtenditur uniuscuiusque natura: Fronis, oculi, vultus, praesepa mentiuntur, oratio verò quam sapissimè.*

Qui citò credideris falleris saepe, lenisq; Es cordis.

O vita fallax, abditos sensus geris.

Fronte & vultu Simulatio facillimè sustinetur.

Totius iniustitia nulla capitalior, quàm eorum, qui cum maximè fallunt, id agunt vti boni viri videantur.

(2) *Fiso res perijt, diffiso salua remansit.*

Fallacia alia aliam trudit.

Fallite fallentes, ex magna parte profanum

Sunt genus: In laqueos quos posuere cadant.

Nil magis hic cauendum, quàm ne diffidere videaris.

Non persuadebis, ne si persuaseris quidem.

The Emperour meanes to chaffer for *Pisa*, and make his best market of her. He sends two Embassadors to *Florence*: pretends a voyage against the Infidels: holds it fit before he go, to leaue *Italy* in quiet and perfect peace: persuades them to referre the cause of *Pisa* into his hands:

pro-

promiseth to doe iustice: requires in the *interim*, a cessation of armes on both sides. The Duke of *Millan* failed not likewise on his part to aduise them hereunto; vnder colour of being carefull for their good, and iealous of the Venetians: he propounds many feares and dangers, if they condescend not to *Casars* arbitration: protests there is no other way to wring out the Venetians, and redintegrate themselues into the possession of *Pisa*: a thing most necessary for the quiet of *Italy*, and much desired of the other confederates. But the Florentines (well acquainted with *Zforzaes* practises, and rightly conceiuing the Emperours drift) returne this answer: How much they extoll the glory of his intended voyage: how much they admire the Christian resolution in his imperiall Maiesty, to make war vpon the sworn enemies of Christian Religion: how willing they are to condescend to the compromise: and how much they affie in his goodnesse and iustice: promising to send him shortly Ambassadors of their owne, with more particular instructions, and full declaration of their purpose. Meane while, they gather together all their souldiers: re-enforce their broken and decayed companies: fortifie *Ligorne*: store it with victuals, munition, and men, and make good that place, against a strong and strait siege of the confederates, which vnder the command of the Emperour was shortly laid against it: and whence hee was forced to make a shamefull retreir into *Lombardy*, without doing any act in this his expedition against the State of *Florence*, and Port of *Ligorne*, answerable to the great charge and expectation of such a seruice, or worthy the name of *Cesar*.

APHORISME XXX.



Here (1) the Ambassador hath charge without limitation, he may negotiate in the businesse according to discretion, and as he sets occurrence of circumstances and occasions offered: (2) But when it is in prescript and expresse termes li-

mitted, he must imitate the Camell, who neuer will cary any more weight then what at first was laid vpon him: nor goe one foot beyond his ordinary iourney: No more must the Ambassador exceed one iot of his commission, but tye himselfe to the strict words of his instructions.

Am. in Tac. an. 1.

(1) Tiberio mandaua Druso sua figliuolo, co' Principali della Città, & con due compagnie de' soldati della sua Guardia, alle Legioni abbotinati in Germania: Il che fece, senza dargli commissione limitata: Ma con ordine, di prendere sul fatto, quel partito che gli paresse migliore.

Palsb. Leg.

Sunt mandata quadam autocretes, & Legati quibus dantur tam libera mandata dicuntur autocretes: quorum mandatis continetur nihil aliud, quàm vt Legatus vti facto opus erit, ita agat.

Philostr. c. 38.

(2) Sua cuique mensura sicuti vires: nec ultra assuetum procedis spacium, nec plus instituto onere recipit.

Alex. de Ale.

Legati munus est, omnia ad prescriptum imperiumq; Consulis agere. Quod militi arma & gubernatori clauus, hoc sunt Legato mandata. Mandatum est anima Legationis.

Plat. rep. l. 4.

Legatus aut Præco, si denunciando aut renunciando falsam legationem obierit: impiè se gesserit, & contra hunc actiones instituantur.

Liui. l. 5.

Mitis Legatio, ni præferoces Legatos, Galliſq; magis quàm Romanis, similes habuisses.

The Florentines send their Ambassadors to Caesar: they find him at Genoa: they refuse to referre the cause of Pisa to his arbitration, vnlesse they bee first possessed of the towne: this done, they offer willingly to declare and iustifie their right before his Maieſty. He giues them no answer, till he came to Molo: here, he sends them back to the Popes Legat at Genoa, to whom he referred them for knowing his pleasure. The Legat putteth them ouer to the Duke of Millan: hither they come: they require audience. Solemne preparation is made for the hearing. The Ambassadors for the confederates, and all the Dukes Councill, are assembled, out of a pride he had to shew his eloquence, and pleasure he tooke in the aduersity of others. In this very instant the Florentine Ambassadors receiue direction from their State to returne without seeking any further answer. They come into the Assembly: tell the Duke they haue no other commission, but to visit him as a friend to their State, doe him honor, and take their leaue. The Duke frustrate of his expectation, demands

mands what answer they had from *Cesar*: They reply, that by the lawes of their Common-wealth, they might not communicate their businesse, but with those Princes onely, to whom they were addressed. If wee (quoth the Duke) shall giue you your answer, for which you know that *Cesar* hath sent you vnto vs, will you not heare it? We are not forbidden to heare it (say they) nor can wee forbid your Highnesse to speake. We are content to giue it you (replies the Duke) but you must first deliuer as much to vs, as you did to *Cesar*. That we cannot (say they) for the causes before alledged, and besides it is superfluous: for if *Cesar* haue giuen you commission to dispatch vs, he hath also giuen you aduertisement of our propositions. The Duke in a rage breaketh vp the assembly: dismisseth them, with charge to depart presently his Countrie: and so receiues part of the scorne, which hee had thought to haue put vpon others.

APHORISME XXXI.



NO (1) causes are warrantable for the Undertaking of a war, if Iustice be not one of the Quorum: (2) For the Iustice of the action, is the Cape of good hope, by which men saile to the assured Harbour of safety, and fortunate Islands of victory, and glory. (3) Wherefore of all encouragements to men of war, none ought to be more forcible, then the equity of the cause: Because iust actions, besides the ordinary indeauour and helpe of man, are often aduanced by fauour of the heauens.

(1) *Ex omni occasione querunt triumphum.*

Ab illis maximum discrimen est, penes quos aurum & opes præcipua sunt bellorum causa.

Ad Superos Astræa recessit.

(2) *Fugies ista Princeps: nec unquam bello te implicabis, nisi iusto: iustum autem est, quod tria hæc habet iusta, authorem, causam, finem. Causa velut Caput bonæ spei est, quod te ducit ad triumphales illas terras.*

Iustum bellum quibus necessarium, & pia arma quibus nulla nisi in armis relinquitur spes.

Plin. paneg.

Tacit. an. l. 4.

Iuven. Sat. 10.

Lip. pol. 5.

Idibid.

Lin. l. 9.

Thucid. l. 1.

In eum qui iure agere, & satisfacere paratus est, nefas bellum sumere, tanquam in iniuriam.

Iustin. l. 25.

Multo honestius tunc bella gerebantur, quam nunc amicitia conluntur.

Liu. l. 1.

Vera victoria est, qua salua sit & integra pietate paratur.

Salust. fug.

Bono vinci satius est, quam malo more iniuriam facere.

Liu. l. 1.

(3) Euentus belli velut aquis iudex, unde ius stabat, ei victoriam dabat.

Incert. Au.

Deus spem omnibus, & iudicium dedit. Iusta faciens pugna, & opem feret Deus.

Erip.

Ouidius: quod aliter adire, quis in dno potest.

Liu. l. 4.

Omnia sua in ratione gesta, etiam fortuna sequitur.

Lucan. l. 17.

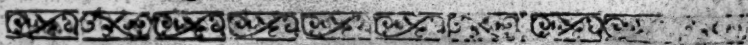
Causa iubet Superos melior sperare secundos.

Prop. eccl. 4.

Frangit & atollit vires in milite causa,

Qua nisi iusta subest, excutit arma pudor.

Ligorne is straitly besieged by the Emperor, both by Sea and Land. It is brauely defended by the Garrison. A strong winde ariseth, which forceth his Fleet to put out to Sea, for feare of running on ground, and splitting vpon the shoare. The same gale blowing faire for the French Nauy comming from Prouence towards the reliefe of *Ga-etta*, puts into this Port of *Ligorne*, and brings the besieged happy supplies of what was wanting. Not long after ariseth another Tempest, worse then the former, which splutech the *Grimalda*, a great ship of *Genoa*, with the losse of all the men and artillery in her. The like disaster happened to two Venecian Gallies, vpon *S. Jacobs* point: and the rest of that Armada, was so sore shaken in other places, as they were no longer fit for the seruice, but forced to raise the siege.



APHORISME XXXII.



Ne especiall care of a Captaine and among the first, for successe in the action, is, to looke well to the armes and armour, of the souldier: For, these often preuaile, both against the number, and valour, of the enemy. Wherefore if Seconds in single fight be very circumspect, that there be no oldes in the combattants weapons, whom they put together vpon all equall and indifferent tearmes: Much more is a Leader to beware, that

the enemy haue not this aduantage vpon him. Because, in single fight, the dexterity and skill of one of the parties in vsing his weapon, or his agilitie or nimbleness of body, or his alacrity and vivacity of spirit, may preuaile against this ods: But in a battaile, where the fight is in a firme station, and a greater desire of off-fending and killing others, then of defending and sauing themselves, oddes of the weapon is much more aduantageous.

Horridus miles esse debet, non calatis auro argentiq., sed ferro & animo.

Ad victoriam plurimum refert, ut lectissimos de preditiis & equis (bene armatos) & post aciem in subsidium preparados habeat.

Cum in as ultres atque arma, tum vim fortuna, martemq. bellicomumem proponit animo.

Dum vigilans, sobrius, prudens, tanquam de civili causa iusser partes iudicaturus, adhibito consilio, de suis & aduersarij copijs iudicat: Et, si malis rebus superior inuenitur, opportunum sibi non deseruit confidit.

Ensis habet vires, & gens quaecunque virorum est, bella gerat gladius: Sed Medos praelia prima exarmant, vacuamq. iubent remeare Pharsiam.

Pope Alexander 6. is desirous to aduance his children to temporall promotions, though by the ruine of others. He sees *Virginio Orsini*, & the chiefe heads of that family in prison at Naples: he takes the aduantage of the time, & denounceth them rebels in open consistory: he confiscates their lands to the Church (whereof they held in chiefe) because they had serued the French King in his warres of Naples: and yet he himselfe was the first (next *Zforza*) that had called him thither. He commands the *Colonnese* to assaile them on the one side, and sends his owne force vnder the leading of the Duke of Candy, & the Cardinall of Luna, to warre vpon them on the other. The *Venerians* likewise consent that the Duke of *Vrbine*, vnder their pay, should goe to this seruice: and *Frederick* sends him *Fabritio Colonna* from Naples. Many townes, and peeces of strength are taken from the *Orsini*: their chiefe castle of *Bracciano* is besieged: *Bartholomeo d'Aluiano* defends it brauely: *Charles Orsini* and *Vitellozzo* muster their forces, ioyne and come to the succours. The Ecclesiastickes, fearing by their comming to bee hemmed in, betweene

Tacit. hist. 1.

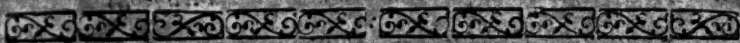
Veget. 1. 3. c. 17.

Liui. 1. 6.

Veg. 1. 3. c. 9.

Lucan. 1. 8.

betweene them and the Castle; rise, and go to meet them at *Seriano*. A hot fight is maintained on both sides many houres: in the end the Papes forces are ouerthrowne, by an aduantage the enemy had of the weapon: for *Virellox* had provided his souldiers of pikes, two foote longer then ordinary.



APHORISME XXXIII.



Prooue (1) a man vnthankfull, and disproue all his other actions: taint him iustly of this, and tuit him worthily with all that naught is: For there is no obligation to tie a man to honestie and faithfull performance (next that of oath) so strong, as this of gratitude. (2) And therefore, there can bee no such maculation to the honour of a Prince, as to abandon men of great worth and small meanes, who haue engaged their lines, and are taken prisoners in his seruice: giuing them ouer to perpetuall imprisonment, or to pay their owne ransome.

Plaut. Most.

Petronius.

Cic. off. 1.

Cic. ad. At. 8.

Aulon. epig.

Lip. l. 5.

Liu. l. 4:

Lip. pol. l. 5.

Ex Scobro.

Plin. paneg.

(1) *Bendigitur ratio accepti atque expensi inter nos conuenit, Tumt amas, ego te amo, merito id fieri existimas:*

Hæc qui gaudent, gaudeant perpetuo suo semper bono.

Cum fortuna tuaret, vultum seruatis amici:

Cum cecidit, turps vertitis ora fuga.

Exdam, id quidem est amicos deserere.

Ingratitudine nihil mali non inest.

Ingrato homine, terra peius nil procreat.

(2) *Ad robur & virtutem militum, valde possunt premia.*

Premia decreta ijs qui in Olympijs aut Nemeis vicissent, Socrates contraxit: eaq; maiora decreuit ijs qui in bello pro patria fortiter dimicassent.

Romani (hic) mirifici, qui non solum altiores ordines assignabant à virtute: sed etiam publice laudes cumulabant & honores, danabantque pro concione Hastas, Phaleras, Coronas.

Quemadmodum igitur conuenit, homines dignos communem fructum percipere, ex ciuili Statu prosperitate: Ita, ubi potentes pro tenuiori fortuna hominibus facere sumptum non sustinent, ibi misericordia nullus locus in ciuitate relinquitur.

Eadem sub bono Principe virtutis premia, qua in libertate: nec tantum benefactis ex conscientia merces, sed etiam premia sunt.

All differences are compounded between the Pope and the *Orsini*, by mediation of the Spanish and Venetian Embassadors. The *Orsini* are permitted to serue out their time vnder the French King : they are to pay thirty thousand Duckats to the Pope, vpon the deliuey of *Iohn Iordano* and *Paul Orsini* out of the Prison of Naples, for *Virginio* is already dead :) and thirty thousand more within eight moneths after. They giue the townes of *Anguillara* and *Cenetri*, for caution, depositate in the hands of Cardinall *Ascanio* and *San-Seuerino*, till paiment be made. The prisoners taken at the late battell of *Soriano*, are all to be set at liberty, on both sides : saue onely the Duke of *Vrbini* ; whom the Pope very vngratefully and ignobly abandoned, and comprised not in the articles (though he were taken in his seruice) because he knew the *Orsini* had no easie meanes to pay him the foresaid summe, but by his ransome. The poore Duke is forced to compound for himselfe, at forty thousand Duckats, and the exchange of *Paul Vitelli*, who was taken prisoner by the Marquis of *Mantua*, at the taking in of *Atella*.

APHORISME XXXIIII.



Friendship (1) once broken is hardly peeced.

(2) And peeced Enmity neuer surely sodred :

Reconcilement among such is like that supple ointment which onely easeth the present smart, and skins the sore, but searcheth not at the roote, to eat out the ranke flesh, and

draw out the maligne humour. It is therefore impossible to cure this exulcerate wound, and establish a sound and sincere friendship betweene them : because the old rancour of malice is neuer well purged from the dregs of diffidence, and desire of reuenge. But the greatest disease of distrust and most incurable, is in him who hath wronged his Prince, whose guilty consciencoe feeds euer on fearefull distrust, though no iust occasion at all be giuen.

(1) *Ut Crytalli fragmenta sarciri nullo modo possunt: ita difficilissimum eos reconciliare, qui ex arctissima familiaritate in mutuum odium venerint.*

Ut Adamas si frangi contingat, in minutissima dissiliat: ita arctissima nenerescitudo, si quando contingat dirimi, in maximam veritatis simultatem.

(2) *Nelle antiche & gravi inimicitie, è difficile stabilire una fidele reconciliazione.*

Virg.

Cic. ad frat.

Tacit. hist. 2.
Sen. Moral.Am. Pla. & oc.
Pro. Ital.
Dion. 142.

— Manet alta mente repostum,

*Indicium Paridis, spretæq; iniuria formæ.**Pancis credendum, nec nisi ijs, quorum longo usu cognita tibi fides.
In victores victosq; nunquam solida fides coalescit.**Dissentio ab alijs, a se reconciliatio incipiat: cumignoscis ita beneficium
tuum tempera, ut non ignoscere videaris sed absolvere: quia gravissimum
pena genus est contumeliosa venia.**Il ne faut pas trop s'acoïnter d'un puissant voisin, & ennemi reconcilie.
Chi offende, non perdona.**Qui post vehementes inimicitias in gratiam redeunt, multa leniuscula
ac temere accidentia, in suspicionem rapiunt, atque in uniuersum oronia
tanquam consilio, & in malam partem facta, ad conceptum ante odium
apponunt.*

The Princes of *Bisignano* and *Salerno*, had beene long of the *Aniowine* faction, against the King of *Naples*. They are now turned *Arragonesse*, and in grace and fauour with *Fredericke* the new King. *Bisignano* one euening walking forth of the Court, is set vpon by a Greeke, and fore wounded. *Salerno* suspecting this a plot of the Kings, in reuenge of old wrongs, forsakes the Court, and flees to his owne citie. The King cleares himselfe of the fact: protesteth his sincere loue and affection to him and his kinfman: and sends the Greeke to him, to be examined, and punished at his pleasure. The Greeke auowes the originall cause of the attempt, to come from himselfe alone, without any letters on, in reuenge of a wrong done him by the Prince, who some few yeares before had dishonoured him, by hauing carnall vse of his wife. This notwithstanding, the Prince could neuer after be brought to trust the King, nor perswaded to a second reconciliation.

APHO-

APHORISME XXXV.



He (1) rigour of the old Romans, to punish the transgression of a commandement in warre, though the good successe approve it, is not so stricktly to be forced: because in actions of this nature, we often meet with those advantages by accident, which Reason and Iudgement could not possibly forethink of, much lesse direct. For things give better counsell to men, than men to the things. (2) But he that hath once transgressed the limits of his commission, and thereby hath faire occasion offered, to make an honourable amends, and in ample sort to iustifie his first transgression, and wipe out the forfeit, that man makes a double fault, not to take it.

(1) T. Manlius filio è pralio prosperè gesto, redenti: Quandoquidem adversus edictum nostrum extra ordinem cum hoste pugnavit, &c. I. lector, deliga ad Palum.

Manliana imperia, non in presentia modò horrenda, sed exempli etiam tristia in posterum.

Summum ius summa iniuria. Dictum de rigidis & austeris: nam tum maxime disceditur ab æquitate, quam maxime superstitiose baretur in legum literis.

(2) Res dant Consilia hominibus, non homines rebus. Itaque aptare rebus debet, præsertim in bello.

Siculum destringere. Dictum de iis qui non valent totam disciplinam militare, sed ex ea paululum quod ad præsens faciat decerpunt.

Statum nutantium rerum, recto concilio in bonam partem accepto, aliquoties divina remediare parant.

Qui opportuna occasionis momentum neglexerit, nequa statim rei bene gerendæ occasionem arripuerit, frustra deinde præter lapsum occasionem remocibit.

Hanc rebus non in esse oportet constantiam, ut rapienda sint consilia, non quærenda.

Turpissima est iactura, quæ sit per negligentiam.

Triulzio is sent Lieutenant-generall into Italie, with expresse charge to aid Battestino Fregoso late Duke of Genoa, and the Cardinall of S. Peter in Vincola, to rimpatriate them and their adherents, exiles, and to assure his master Charles the 8. of that cities deuotion and obedience. His

Liu. l. 8.

Id. ibid.

Adag. Poly.

Lip. poll. 5.

Cicero.

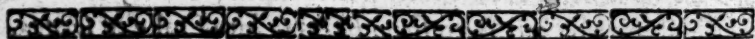
Am. Marcell. lib. 16.

Agath. l. 4.

Capi. in Max

Senec. epist.

commission stretcheth no further. Direction is giuen, that *Paul-Battista Fregoso* with six gallies, should make his attempt vpon the West coast: and the King sends to *Florence*, to moue that State to set vpon the Lieutenant, and Prouince of *Lunigiana*. The ice thus broken, and way thus made, it is resolu'd and ordered, that the Duke of *Orleans* shall follow presently after with a puissant armie, to warre vpon the State of *Millan* in his owne right. *Triultio* and *Battestino* take in the towne of *Noui*, and other peeces thereabouts, vniustly detained from the Genowete, and vsurped by *Zforza Vincula* forceth *Ventimiglia*, and carries it: approacheth *Sauona*, finds no commotion in the towne for his part, as he expected; and in despaire of preuailing, retires. To which seruice, if after the taking in of *Noui*, *Triultio* had addressed his forces (as by his commission he ought) it was very probable they had had a wished successe. But he desires to kindle the warres in the Duchie of *Millan*, (whereof he was a proscript) entreth into that State, besiegeth *Bosco*, takes it, and brings vnder contribution a great part of the Duchie. By the taking in of this Castle, the whole State is in manifest brandle and solleuation: some through feare, others through desire of innouation. The Duke himselfe is appalled, and implores the mediation of his vnkle of *Ferrara*, to the French King, in his behalfe. His Generall *Gaiazzo*, with his forces in *Alexandria*, distrusts his owne strength, and is ready to giue way. So deepe an impression of feare and amazement was strooke into the whole State, by the reputation of this one action. But *Triultio* thinking to mend his first error, committeth indeed a greater: he marcheth no farther: lets slip this faire occasion: and sits downe with his armie betweene *Noui* and *Bosco*. Whereby the Duke hath time to settle his country in quiet: re-enforce his companies: and call in the aid of the Venetians.



APHORISME XXXVI.

Nature yeeldeth for mans vse, the Bud, the Flower, and the Fruit: But if he will haue the flower for his pleasure, he may not nip off the bud: and if he will enioy the fruit, for his vse, he may not rash off the flower. So in a mans actions, he must suffer euery precedent cause to ripen, and haue his season, if he will reape the fruit of a wished effect. (2) It is therefore a wel grounded deliberation in States, not to snatch greedily at the flower of a faire offer, except it certainly bring with it the sweet fruit of profit: Nor to enter into a warre, though for a iust reuenge, and lawfull recovery of their owne, except there appeare pregnant and demonstratiue assurances, of the good Successe.

(1) *Non si deue prender partito nuouo, oue non si megliori il vecchio: come vediamo, che la Natura non lascia perire il fiore, si non per il frutto.*

(2) *Qui in arduis versantur negotijs, periculi meminisse debent.*

Ne mihi periculationes landetis: nam ego, neque tantum amo, nimis audacem, neque continentis praesidem.

Lenius sis patientia quidquid corrigere est nefas.

Magnum malum est non posse ferre malum.

Amo caute descendentes in pericula.

Mora proficua.

Multa, ne bellare necesse sit, homines voluntate remittunt: quae bello & armis cogi non possunt.

Sis sine cupiditate, sine impotentia, quietus secretusque: Nam id beatius quam suas alienasque fortunas, Spe metuque versare.

Quis furor est atram bellis accersere mortem?

C'est chose dangerense, s'aboucher à ce, dont on voit, qu'il sera presque impossible de venir au bout.

Florence is deeply engaged in the warre of Pisa: where in she hath found strong opposition, from all the States of Italie, but especially from that of Genoa: The Time is now come, to take the reuenge; the meanes thus: The French King hath vnder-taken the cause of the exiled Genoweses, and earnestly sollicites Florence, to ioyne with him in the enterpise: she is glad so bad a neighbour, shall haue so

Bot. de Neu.

Eraf.

Euripid.

Hor. l. od. 23.

Bion. Laert.

Arist.

Casti. ep. l. i.

Liui. 35.

Tacit. de.

Mor. Germ.

Tib. l. r. c. 10.

Am. in Plut.

Gracch.

powerfull an enemy vpon her backe: but she holds it no good pollicy, to embroyle her selfe in that warre, til she saw the French affaires better aduanced: she refuseth.

APHORISME XXXVII.



Redulity (1) is rather a fault, than an offence: For, it hurteth no man, but it selfe. But in deceit is both the offence, in promising the credulous more than he meanes to performe, (for, so he doth what he should not :) And the fault in failing of what he promised, (for so he doth not what he should) (2) The Masterpeece of this art, is to draw on the credulous by performance of small things, that he may the more finely fetch him ouer in the greater. (3) The onely remedy against such Craft-masters is this, not to trust: For he that trusteth not, can hardly be deceiued.

Cic.ep.1.to.

Cic. ad frat.

Liui. l. 28.

Aristoph.

Cic. pro Mil.

Cic. ad Brut.

Phocylid.

Lip. ex Hist.

Seneca.

Pro Ital.

(1) *Credulitas error magis est quam culpa: & quidem in optimi cuiusque mentem irrepit facillime.*

Vt quisque est vir optimus, ita difficillime esse alios improbos suspicatur.

(2) *Fraus in paruis fidem sibi prestat, ut cum opera pretium sit, cum magna mercede fallat.*

Οἷον ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ὅτι τὸ πρῶτον ἐκείνῳ. i. In quibus neque insurandum, neque fides, ne altare locum habent.

In animis hominum multa sunt latebrae & multi recessus.

Temerè affirmare de altero est periculosum, propter occultas hominum voluntates, multiplicesque naturas.

(3) *Μὴ πιστεύετε ταχέως, ἀλλὰ ἀργότερον πλεονέκτητε. i. Noli credere celeritè, antequam verè finem videas.*

Pragmatici homines, omnibus historicis praeceptis, versibus denique cauere inibent, & vetant credere.

Magis amicorum inuidiam quam inimicorum insidias cauere debemus. Illud enim apertum, hoc celatum est malum; nocendissimè fraus qua non speratur potentior est.

*Da chi mi fido, mi guardi Iddio,
Da chi mi non fido, mi guarderò io.*

A truce istreated betweene the French King, and the King of Spaine. The French will in no case admit, that the Italian confederates shall be comprised: being desirous

to prosecute his warre with strong hand, on the other side the mountaines. The Spaniard for his Honour sake, nor can nor will leaue them out, being his Collegues in the same confederation: But he assures the French secretly, that the truce being concluded vpon this condition, he will then be as ready as he, to a finall and perfect peace between them two: and that then he will and may, with some colourable iustification, ioyne with him against the Italians: and propounds the Co-particinary and equall sharing of the kingdome of Naples with him. The condition is accepted: and a truce concluded, to continue from the five and twentieth of Aprill, to the last of Ooctor next following.

APHORISME XXXVIII.



In Ragedies (1) and Comedies are no where so rise, as vpon the bloody stage of warre. Hope and feare are incompetent Iudges in these lists: and cannot determine which side hath the better: (2) Because the euent, proues for the most part contrary to the beginning: Wherefore let not him triumph that putteth on his armour, but him that putteth it off.

(1) *Insuperata accidunt magis saepe, quam quassperes.*

Spero & Paveo

Sono Giudici incertissimi di Marte.

2 *Pessimus in dubij, augur timor.*

Ita postquam adempta spes est, lassum cura confectus, super.

Nunquam minus quam in bello, cunctos respondens.

Incerti exitus pugnarum, & Mars committit: qui saepe spoliis teo sumo & exultantem euerit, & periculis abiecit.

Nescis quid seruis uesper uebat, & (Tarronis munus) ne presentium successuum prosperitate elati, futurorum curam abijcimus.

Frequenter iam susa acies, dispersos ac passim sequentes, reparatis viribus interuenit.

O, di quante Battaglie il fin successo, Dinerso a quel, che si credette inante.

Victori non vincenti gloria.

In the Interim, before the truce came in force, *Triultio, Battefino,*

Plaut. Most.

Tasso. Ca. 10.

Star. 13. Th.

Terent. An.

Salust. Jug.

Cic. pro Mi.

Gell. & Varr.

Veget. 1.3.

Ariost. ca. 10.

Alciat. Emb.

Batteſtino, and Serenon, encampe before *Albinga* : at the firſt aſſault they had almoſt made themſelves maſters of the place : but through diſorder in their entrie, they are againe beaten backe, forced to quit the action, and raiſe the ſiege. Contrarily : *Comte Gaiazzo* ſetteth downe before *Novi* : is beaten backe with great loſſe : riſeth with his army : returneth : and happily carrieth the place.

APHORISME XXXIX.



Hankfulneſſe is accounted a heavy burthen : *Reuenge*, a ſweet refreſhing : Hence is it that men naturally are more prone to reuenge a wrong, then requite a good turne. Eſpecially the enuious, who like the *Toade* in the fable, ſwelleth to be as big as the *Oxe*, though he burſt in ſwelling : and with a ſpightfull eye, like that of the *Baſilisk* hurteth the obiect vpon which it fixeth. For, ſuch men cannot endure the proſperity of others, (eſpecially ſuch as were ſometimes their enemies) though the record of that former wrong hath ſince bene cancelled, with the accumulation of many benefiſts.

Bod. Ly. rep.
Tacit. Hiſt. 4.
Comie. Græ.
Terent. Ade.

Ant. Serm. de
Bene.

Plaut. Perſa.
Demost. ad
Leptin.

Plaut. Trin.
Cornar.

Luſcin.

Mac. Pri. c. 7.

Preniores ad vindictam ſumus, quàm ad gratiam.

Gratis oneri, vltiſta in quaſta habetur.

Αἰ' ἰλιῶν ἔ' ἡδύων ἡ χεῖρ. i. Simul & miſertum eſt, interijt q. gratia.

Abs quouis homine cum opus eſt, beneficium accipere gaudet.

Verùm enim verò id demum inuat, ſi quem aequum eſt benefacere iſ faſit.

Qui largiuntur indignis ea qua dignis conferri debeant, ſria committunt abſurda : nam & ipſi iacturati faciunt, & in bonos conſumelioſi ſunt, & malos roborant, materia vitiorum ſuppeditata.

Improbuſ eſt homo, qui beneficium ſciſ ſumere, & reddere veſcit.

Qui indignum aliquem honore afficiunt, ſimplicitatis ac ſtultitiæ opinio- nem aliquam habent : qui verò de ſe benemeritis paria non referunt, maliſſa ſuſpicionem incurrunt.

Malo ſi benefeceris, id beneficium interis.

Perſuſum vas eſt ingratus hominſſio, ſemper omne quod infundis perſtu- it in nihilum.

Rimarum plenuſ perdit tua dona ſceleſtus :

Si ſapiſ integro vina reconde cado.

Qui in ea eſt ſententia, ut exiſtinet, magnorum virorum inueterata

odia

odia beneficij nonis dilui, & in obliuionem induci posse, is vehementer fallitur.

Mac.Pri.c.7.

Now that armes are laid aside in *Italie*, by force of the late truce; *Lodowick Sforza* makes publike acknowledgement to the world, of the obligation and thankfulness he owes to the Venetian State, for their ready, timely, and full succours in these his late troubles: He extols to the heavens the honour and power of that Common-wealth: He approves the wisdom of *Iohn Galeazzo* first Duke of *Milan*, in making that State his Fee in trust, for the due execution and performance of his last will and testament. Yet for all this, not able to endure in his enuious nature, that *Pisa* should be wholly at her deuotion, which himselfe had hunted after with so much policy and paine; he worketh secretly with the Popes and Spanish Embassadours, to procure that *Pisa* might againe be restored to the Florentines, and wrung out of the hands of the Venetians.

APHORISME XL.



Here (1) Election is free, we are to choose the best of benefits: where it is restrained, we must take the least of dangers. Wherefore in a treaty betweene States, when a demand is made, which the weaker would not willingly grant, (in distrust of bad measure from the stronger) let him rather propound some impossible caution, then make a flat deniall: because, it giueth the demander no better aduantage, and yet procureth himselfe lesse displeasure. (2) For, nothing is more harsh to him that motions a matter, then a peremptory refusall: and we daily obserue, that many suitors are sent away without their purpose, better satisfied, then others that with bad termes and in ill manner obtaine it.

(1) *Alcibiades cuiusdam dicenti, Non fides patria de te indicatur? Ego sane, inquit, ne matri quidem: vereretur enim ne insciens pro albo calculo nigrum mitteretur.*

Plut. Alcib.

Demosth.

Κοινὸν οὐδ' αὖθις ἑστὶν ἀποφύγετον τῆς ἀσπίδος. *Diffidentia prudentum hominum communem Thesaurarium.*

Eurip.

Horat. ep. 1.

Sapiente diffidentia non alia res utilior mortalibus.

Cautus enim meruit foveam, Eupia Accipiterque.

Suspectos laqueos, & operum Milvius hamum.

Arist. eth. 5.

Terent. heaut.

Plaut. Penul.

(2) *Minus malum etiam boni speciem gerit quodam modo.*

Istuc est sapere, qui ubicunque opus sit, animum possit flectere.

Modus omnibus in rebus (forer) est optimum habitus,

Nimia omnia nimiam exhibent negotium hominibus ex se.

Hesiod.

Terent. And.

Cic. ad frat.

ep. 1.

Imprudens est quisquis cum praestantioribus certare vult.

Primum, aiunt, quando ut volumus, non licet.

Nihil est tam deformis, quam ad summum imperium acerbissem naturae adiungere.

Cic. pro Rab.

Satis est homines imprudentia lapsos non erigere : urgere vero iacentes, aut precipitantes impellere, certe est inhumanum.

Adag Poly.

Εἰς τοὺς ποταμούς, Διῆται τοὺς ἄνθρωποις ἀπρόβλητοι καὶ ἐκείνους. Ῥοὴ γὰρ λίαν ἐκείνη ἐστίν.

The Popes and Spanish Embassadors deale with those of *Venice*, about the resignation of *Pisa* : their allegations are answered by the Venetians ; and that argued, to bee both preiudicious and pernicious to the common good of *Italy*, because the Florentines were in so strict amitie with the French, as no benefit of theirs could desolve it. Yet, to shew that the State of *Venice* was as desirous of their loue, and of the peace of *Italy*, as any other, thee would be content to resigne the place, provided that the Florentines put in good caution, not to aid the French. And no caution was sufficient for a matter of such importance, but the Port of *Ligorne* to be put into the hands of the confederates, for their assurance. A thing which the Venetians knew full well, that the Florentines would not grant. So the treaty brake off.

APHO.

APHORISME XLI.



S (1) he that is friend to all, is true friend to none: So that which hath many heads, hath no head at all. A multitude is this many-headed monster, which hath neither head for brains, nor brains for government. And as in a medicine, if there be not a due proportion of the Simples in the mixture, there is a mischief for a remedy, not a remedy for a mischief. So, in a popular State, where there is no equal temperature and counterpoise of the nobilities power, against this strong Ingredient of the multitude, there is disorder, and a way open to confusion.

(1) *Amicus omnium, amicus nullorum.*

(2) *Hydra & monstrum multorum capitum, est ipsa multitudo: Ingenio mobili, seditiosum, atque discordiosum, cupidum novarum rerum, & otio aduersum.*

Vulgus sine Rectore, preceps, pauidum, secors, atque etiam vecors.

Procacia plebis ingenia.

Vulgus audacia turbidum, nisi vim metuas.

Vulgus acribus oculis alienam felicitatem intuetur.

Sic est vulgus, ex veritate paucis, ex opinione multa, indicat.

In imperfecta multitudine, est varietas, & inconstantia, & crebra tanquam tempestatum sic etiam sententiarum commutatio.

Nihil in vulgo modicum, serrens ni pauent: ubi pertimmerint, impune contemnuntur.

Vulgus est ad deteriora promptum.

Non delectu aliquo aut sapientia ducitur ad indicandum, sed impetu nonnunquam & quadam etiam temeritate: non est enim consilium in vulgo, non ratio, non discrimen, non diligentia: semperque sapientes ea quae populus fecisset, ferenda non laudanda duxerunt.

Non ego venio a plebis suffragia venor.

Impensis canarum, & trita munere vestis.

Cic. de Am.
Sallust. lug.

Tacit. an. 4.
Tacit. an. 2.
Tacit. an. 6.
Id. l. an. 2.
Cic. pro Ros.
Cic. pro D6.

Tacit. an. 1.

Tacit. an. 16.
Cic. pro Plan.

Hor. l. ep. 19.

The forme of gouernment last established in Florence, was not well reigled. The mixture was made of these two Simples, Optimacie and Democracie, but it was disproportionall: for, this latter being hot in the highest degree, had the predominancie. Hence grew suspicions, iealousies,

and factions among them: the nobler sort had lesse authoritie then was fit, and yet the populusse thought them ambitious, and challengers of more then their due. This facall part of the people intruderth into all deliberations of weightiest consequence, whereof they were vncapable. They change the supreme magistrate euery two moneths, and by that meanes the State-businesse is managed with manifest confusion. The great charges and troubles of a long watre, together with a present dearth and scarcity of all things, puts the citie into eminent hazzard. This ill disposition of the gouernment, and generall dislike of the present, encourageth *Peter Medici*, through the Perswasion of the Pope, aid of the Venetians, *Petrucchi*, *Aluiano*, and his other friends abroad, together with the sollicitation of those male-contents, and kinsmen he had in the towne, to attempt the recouery of his libertie, lands, and authoritie, that he had deseruedly lost in that citie. it is true, the enterprise succeeded not: not out of any failing of his friends, abroad, or partisans in the towne, but through accident: for he missed to come with his forces to the gate which was kept, and made good for him, many houres after the time assigned, being hindred by a sodaine and great fall of raine.

APHORISME XLII.



N(1) *ill executer of lawes, is worse in a State then a great breaker of them. Not to punish an offence, being vnder our charge, and in our power, is to commit it. There is no greater offence to the weale-publick, and quiet thereof, then a factions partaking and deadly Feud among the great ones. (2) Connience therefore in a Prince, to winke at such factions, and slacknesse not to suppressse them, is dangerous.*

Seneca
Philo.

(1) *Qui non vetat peccare, cum potest, inbet.
Qui enim castigare, aut saltem cohibere, cum possit, non cohibet: palam
est, et permittit, et penè mandare.*

Inducit

Invadit maximam illecebram peccandi impunitatis spes.

Quis cum mactet, apud quem conditum immo constructum ferrum fis?

Quid leges sine moribus vana proficiunt?

Mores leges perduxerunt iam in potestatem suam: Ea misera etiam ad parietes sunt fixæ ferreis clavis, ubi malos adfigi erat æquum.

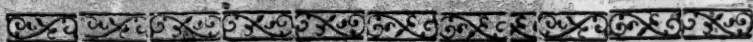
Nihil in discordijs civilibus festinatione tutius, ubi factum magis quam consulto est opus.

Quos ipsa natura retinere in officio non potest, et magnitudine pœnæ maleficio submoveri debent.

(2) On mesprise & deteste ceux, qui laissent vivre leurs sujets en toute licence de mal faire, & confondent les punitions avec les loyers.

Ce que donne volentiers & moyens aux hommes de grands esprits, de conspirer contre leur Prince, & d'attenter à l'usurpation de la couronne, est l'imbecillité & la neantise d'iceux Princes.

The factions, Geulphe and Ghibelline, increase in the Churches State: and some notable ensuing mischief is feared. The Pope *Alexander 6.* carelesse of the afflictions of his subiects, or his owne honour, so it touched not his particular profit or pleasure, stirs not to prevent the mischief, or suppress the motion. *Aluiano* with his troops is called by the *Guelphes* into the towne of *Todi*. They lacke it, and put to death three and thirty of the principall heads of the other faction. In reue nge hereof, *Antonio Sauello* enters *Terni*: and the *Gatteschi* by the helpe of the *Colonne*, surprise *Viterbo*. In both which places the *Ghibellines* commit like outrage and slaughter vpon *Guelphes*.



APHORISME XLII.



Here are degrees of vices: and howsoever Ethicks out of their Philosophie determine those of excessse to be lesse odious and burresfull: yet Politicks finde out of their experience, that they are rather to be iudged by the effect, then the defect. By which rule, Lust and Ambition are two vices of all other the most hateful: Because they are most powerfull ministers to all nefarious actions.

Contumax res libido, astro percita, & in saniam proximè accedens.

Ec 3

Cicero.
Sen. de Cle.

Hor. 3. od. 24.
Plaut. Trin.

Tacit. hist. 1.

Cic. pro Ros

An. Plu. Cic

Haill 1.

Tacit. hist. 1.

Et

Ouid.
Seneca.
Cicero.

Sen. Hippol.
Idem, lo.

B. de i. l. 5.

Cic. off. 1.

Ficht.

Bibli.

Et ruit in vetitum damni secunda libido.

Ambitio res ventosa, nullum habens exitum aut terminum.

Complures se scelere contaminarunt inperij cupiditate.

Quaque succensas agit libido mentes.

Quisquis secundis rebus exultat nimis.

Fluitq. luxu, semper insolita appetens,

Tunc illum magna dira fortuna comas

Subit libido.

Maxime adducuntur pleriq. ut eos iustitia capiat oblitio, cum in impetiorum, bonorum, gloriæ cupiditatem, inciderint.

Libido Lex viro insipientis.

In reliquis visis sequitur victoria pugnam,

Vincitur ac celeri sana libido fuga:

Nemo etenim nisi qui metuet fugietque periculum,

Tutus ab hac poterit vivere peste diu.

Caesar Borgia, Cardinall of Valentia, could not brooke, that his elder brother the Duke of Candia, should be aduanced by the Pope their father, to temporall honours, and be made Generall of the Ecclesiastick army: to which dignity himselfe aspired, hauing a spirit altogether aliened from priestly function. He was also enraged against him, because he was his corriuall and concurrent in his Armours, and shared with him in the fauour, and carnall vse of his Mistresses. Hereupon he practiseth the death of his brother: and on enight as he rode priuately through the streets of Rome, he caused him to be murdered, and throw it into theriuier of Tyber.

APHORISME XLIII.



Nunc documents (1) are Documents: and great afflictions are good lectures, to reformation of life and manners. For, the harder the pressure is with calamity, the deeper is the impression of our frailty, and liableness to misery: (2) But in a heart neuer moistened with the dew of Grace, and obdurate with the continuall practise of wickednesse and villany, they take no deepe root: Such mortars will still sauer of the garlick.

Εἰς τὴν ἐκείνην, ἡμεῖς: Παθήματα μαθήματα. *Notum est documenta.*

Miseria, Prudentia bona Mater.

— *Grande doloris*

Ingenium est, miserisq. venit solertia rebus.

— *Nec enim fortuna querenda*

Sola tua est: simile aliorum respice casus;

Mitius ista feres.

Ictus piscator sapio.

Quod fors feres, feramus quo animo.

Istuc viri est officium.

(2)

— *Ad mores natura recurrit*

Damnatos fixa, & mutari nescia.

Naturam expellas furca lices, usque recurrit.

Le plus grand ingement, que scauroit auenir aux meschans, est, qu'ils se condamnent eux mesmes, & n'en denient pas mesleurs.

Vnicuique dedit vitium natura creato.

Quicquid infixum & ingenium est, lenitur arte, non vinouit.

Le Mortier sent toujours les Aulx.

Adag. græc.
Lip. ann. l. 3.
Ouid. Met. l. 6.

Ouid. Met. vlt.

Adag. Lar.
Terent. Pho.

Iuue. Sat. 13.

Horat. Serm.
l. 2. Sat. 2.
Am. Plu. Di.

Propert. l. 1.
Senec. de ira.
Pro. Gallic.

The Pope is overcome with sorrow for the vntimely and violent death of his eldest sonne the Duke of Candia. He bewailes his losse with many teares: calls his owne former life into consideration: accuseth himselfe in open Consistory of his actions past, and whole course of life, till that present day: sheweth great contrition: promitteth amendment: and requires the whole Colledge of Cardinals to ioyne with him, in reformations of the disorders and corruptions of the Court: But shortly after, when he knew the author of the murther, and that Cæsar Borgia, his owne sonne was the assassinate, (which should haue aggravated his griefe) he cooles in his burning zeale to reformation, and fals to his old byas of wickednesse and treachery, with a more vnbridled fury of ambition and couetousnesse, than euer before.

APHO-

APHORISME XLV.



IN Treason, the concealment is as capitall as the practice: Here are no Accessories: All are in like predicament of offence, and danger of law: For, he deserves as ill of the State, that will not reueale a publike mischiefe and preuent it, as he that intendeth and practiseth it. Wherefore no punishment for such, can by law be too sodaine, or too cruell: though (vnlesse the delay doe much endanger the State) it ought euer be such, as the law in like cases ordaineth.

Valer. l.9.

Cic. Catil.

Lip.

Cic. pro Mi.

Valer. l.3.

Plat. leg. l.9.

Salust. Cat.

Cic. in Ver.

Cic. pro Ma.

Curt. l.3.

Senec. sent.

Tacit. an. 11.

Ioseph. f. 278.

Proditio tantum incommodi humano generi affert, quantum salutis hominis fides.

Nulla potest esse, in tanti sceleris immanitate puniendi, crudelitas.

Proditionis convictos puni, & graviter puni. Nam insidiatori aut latrones, quia potest inferri iniusta nex?

Impia proditio celeri poena vindicanda est.

Angusti timentis isus, alii iniqui. Puniantur tanquam sacrilegi.

Ne sanguinem nostrum largiari, & dum paucis sceleratis parcis, bonos omnes perdisim eas.

Est utilius unius improbi supplicio multorum improbitatem coercere, quam propter improbos multos uni parcere.

Tua cautio, nostra cautio est.

Lasus à domesticis hostibus munies.

Qui dubitat ulcisci, improbos plures facit.

Nulla cuiusquam misericordia, quia flagitiorum deformitas praeualebat.

Facinus non admittit lenta concilia.

The conspirators with *Medici* are discovered in the citie of *Florence*: They are apprehended, arraigned, and convicted by a lawfull triall. *Nicold Ridolphi*, *Gianoxzo Pucci*, and *Giouanni Cambi*, are condemned, for solliciting him to come: *Lorenzo Tornabuoni* for helping him with money: and *Barnardo del Nero*, for hauing knowne the conspiracy, and concealing it. All gentlemen, of the chiefeft houses in *Florence*, and *Nero* at the same time Gonfaloners of Iustice, (the chiefe office in that State.) The kinsmen of the offenders appeale from this iudgement of the Senate, to the great Councell of the commons (as by the law of that

gouern-

gouernment they might.) It is propounded at the table of Senators, whether this appeale should stand good, or no, and is cast by voyces, on the negatiue part. The offenders are all executed that night in prison.

APHORISME XLVI.

Recedents, are no iustificable warrants of Princes actions, when they are taken from those who are generally and iustly taxed of iniustice. Yet such is the deprauation of mans nature, as he rather imitates the worse, then the better : And in ill, to exceed ; in good, to come short of the example.

Duo illa nos maximè mouent, similitudo & exemplum.

Id genus hominum vniuersis est aduersum, atque omni populo malè facit; malè fidem seruando, illis quoque abrogant fidem, qui nihil meriti. Quippe ex eorum ingenio, ingenium horum probant.

Vbi semel à recto deerratum est, in præceps peruenitur, neque quisquam sibi turpe putat, quod alteri fuit fructuosum.

Quod exemplo fit, id etiam iure fieri putant homines.

L'imitazione del male, supera l'esempio: Si come per lo contrario, l'imitazione del bene è sempre inferiore.

Prodest sine dubio custodere tibi proposuisse, & habere quem respicias: Longè autem melius est, cum iam profeceris tantum, ut sit tibi etiam tui reuerentia, & te eum feceris, cum quo peccare non audeas.

— Dociles imitandis

Turpibus ac prauis omnes sumus: & Catilinam quocunque in populo videas, quocunque sub axe, Sed nec Brutus erit, Bruti nec auunculus usquam.

Cic. 3 de Or.
Plaut.

Velleil. 2.

Cic. ad Sulp.
Por. in Guic.
l. 6.

Senec. ep. ad
Lucil.

Iuuen. Sat. 14.

The Spaniard seemes loth to abandon the Italians his confederates, to the power of the French. And yet now vpon a new truce concluded betweene them (which was to continue *ad beneplacitum* of both the parties, and two moneths after the reuocation) he quite excludes those Princes his alleies. They complaine of this his tergieration. He iustifies himselfe thus : That it was as lawfull for him to doe this, without their leaue or comprisall, as for

the Duke of *Milan* to make peace with *France*, at the treaty of *Vercelli*, without his consent or notice. But yet for their better satisfaction, he pretends that he will reuoke this truce, whensoever they shall reimburse vnto him one hundred and fifty thousand Duckats, which he hath already spent in those warres: and when withall the *Venetians* shall quit their possession and interest in *Pisa*, for the common quiet of *Italy*.

APHORISME XLVII.



*I*ustice and Fortune are painted blinde: to shew vs what the one doth, and what the other should not doe: for, the one useth to giue without respect, and the other in no respect is to take. Those Princes therefore, that for bribe, feare, or any other particular end, faile of doing euery man right, swarue from the prescript rule of Iustice and Equitie, which admits of none to sit in her Seat but such, whose eies are seeled from respecting persons, and hands closed from accepting rewards.

Hor. 3. car. 3.

*Iustum & tenacem propositi virum,
Non cinivm ardor prava iubentium,
Non vultus instantis tyranni
Mente quatit solida.*

Tacit. an. l. 13.
Claudian.

*Nihil in penatibus eius venale sit, aut ambitioni peruenim.
Corruptentia sensus dona: — Persuadere dona & dijs fama est.*

Phocylid.
Ex Hesiod.

*Κεῖν ἴς χαλκῷ ἔλκεται. Iudicium donis emptum.
Indices, neque δωροπλήθῳ, neque δωροφάρῳ εἶναι δεῖται.*

Hor. l. 4. od. 9.

*— Bonus atque fidus
Index, honestum praeulit utili, &
Reiecit alto dona nocentium
Vuln.*

Iuven. Sat. 18.

*— Proincia cum te
Rectorem accipiet, pone ira frena, modumq;
Pone & auaritia.*

Hesiod. l. 1.

*Οἱ δὲ δῖοι θεοὶ καὶ ἄνθρωποι, καὶ ἄνθρωποι καὶ θεοὶ
ἰσχυροὶ, καὶ οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ οἱ δεύτεροι, καὶ οἱ τρίτοι
τοῖσι τοῖσι τοῖσι, καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ
Qui iura tam hospitibus quam popularibus dant iusta, nec à iusto quicquam
exorbitant, ἵς viget urbs, populus verò floret in ipsa.*

Vir

*Vir iustus est, non qui non facit iniuriam,
Sed qui cum iniuriari possit, non vult tamen,
Nec qui à paruis capiendis insistit,
Sed qui magna sustinet non accipere,
Quamuis habere queat & possidere sine periculo.*

Philem. in
Palamid.

In the treatie at *Vercelli* it was atticled, that the Castle of *Genoa* should be left in *deposito* with the Duke of *Ferrara*, for performance of all couenants betweene the Duke of *Millan* and the French King: with *prouiso* to be redeliuered to the Duke at two yeares end, in case he kept all conditions couenanted in the treaty, and paid halfe the charge of the garrison for that time, otherwile not. The time is expired. *Zforza* hath failed on his part, in the performance of many couenants: *Ferrara* demands halfe the charges of the King. He yeelds willingly to pay it: And because *Ferrara* vrged that he had not his liquidation, and full reckoning for the rest of his charges, the King requires him to hold the place still, till the case were fully decided, to which of the two he ought to consign it: A demand very reasonable and iust. But *Ferrara* is ouercome by *Zforzaes* perswasions and flatteries, and by bestowing the Archbishopricke of *Millan* vpon his sonne the Cardinall *d'Esté*: but most of all through feare of displeasing two so powerfull neighbours to his State, as *Venice* and *Millan*. He therefore deliuers the Castle of *Genoa* into the Dukes hands: receiuing the remainder of the summe due for the guard of the place, and the State of *Venice* by way of gratification, giues his other son *Don Ferrando*, the command of one hundred men at armes in pay.

APHORISME XLVIII.

HE (1) that beares one blow at an enemies band, asketh another: and he that endureth one contemptible neglect from his subject, shall be sure of many. For, not to haue sense of a forreine affront, and be displeased at home-bred abuses, and capable to redresse

both, are things much derogating from the honour of a Prince : the first argues a pusillanimitie of spirit ; the other a debilitie of iudgement. (2) He therefore that will not be wronged the second time, must remedie the first : against a stranger, by the Lance ; against a subiect, by the Law.

Plu. de Cato
Senec. de ira.

Lucret. l. 5.

Tacit. an. l. 2.

Haill. Estat. l. 3.

Tacit. hist. 2.
Seneca.

Cic. in Ver. 3.
Lip. poll. 5.

Satill. 5.

(1) *Impunita iniuria exemplum, omnibus minatur iniuriam: Etenim si liceat impunè ladere, nullus erit tutus ab improborum violentia.*

Veterem ferendo iniuriam, inuitas nouam.

*Princeps nisi se ab iniuria vindicauerit, — subuersa iacebit
Pristina maiestas soliorum, & Sceptra superba.*

Subitis offensis, vel intempestiuis blanditijs mutabilem, meritò condemnant.

Voy-la le mal-heur d'un siecle miserable & iniuste, de cognoistre l'injustice, & ne l'oser dire, n'y en faire la punition: voy-la comment les Princes souuent cognoscent le mal, & iugeans au contraire, donnent l'absolution: estants à cela contrainis per les temps, aux quels leur iniustice ils donnent ceste licence, et apres enricoyuent les premiers le mal.

Vitellius contemptior indies, segnior q̃.

Gravius est contemni, quàm stultitia percuti.

(2) *Vnius improbi supplicio, multorum improbitas coercetur.*

Si crebra nimis sit eorum insolentia, & tanquam mala herba nimium succreuerit, falce est recidenda.


— Primo in limine siste

Conatus scelerum, atque animos infanda parantes.

The Duke of Ferrara sends to Charles 8, to excuse the consignation he had made of the Castle of Genoa, into the Duke of Millans hands : an action of great iniustice and wrong to the French. The King heares thereof without any manner of resentment or displeasure, as a matter of sleight consequence, though indeed it touched neare his honour, and itate of his present affaires, being still resoluèd vpon a personall returne into Italy. To this expedition, the occasion was neuer fairer, nor meanes stronger. For, the Florentines are willing to entertaine d'Aubigny, with one hundred and fifty men at armes, as Generall of their forces, and to breake the ice, and make the way to his coming. The Marquis of Mantoa, returning victoriously from Naples, where he had commanded vnder the Venetians, with great honour to himselfe, and aduancement of their affaires, is by them now at his returne called from his command : and in discontent, offers his seruice to the French

French King. The new Duke of *Sauoy* is assuredly his: *Bentiuoglio* promiseth faithfully to follow his fortunes, so soone as he shall haue passed the mountaines. The Pope (yet doubtfull whether to ioyne with him, or be newter) is vndoubtedly resolved not to be against him. But his fauourites, and courtiers abuse him with variety of artifice: some inuent new delights and pleasures to stay him at home: others, propound many difficulties: the rest aduise him not to set forward, till he had such a maine power both at sea, and land, as no force the Italians could make, should be able to resist him: and all these, that he might be drawne to quit the action: as for *S. Mald*, who was chiefe treasurer, and had formerly failed in his seasonable and sufficient supplies in time of most need, and yet was neuer called to account to answer so great a neglect, he now at this instant vseth his old tricke, of dispensing the kings money sparingly, slowly, and out of due season: and failed of sending the entertainement due to the *Orsini* and the *Vitelli*, a matter of great moment to the Kings seruice intended. Thus the King, whose will depended vpon the pleasure of others, cooles in the businesse so hotly intended: returnes fro *Lyons*: thence to *Toures*: so to *Amboyse* castle, where he shortly after died.

APHORISME XLIX.

 S (1) sacred things should not be touched with vnwasshed hands: (2) So State matters should admit no vulgar handling: Prayer is here the Church-mans onely weapon. He must neither lift up his hand to reforme, nor his voice to reprove. To moue to trouble and commotion, is a motion Exentrick, and out of his commission. They are al in these cases barred Bye and Main, except they be of the Councell, and in Councell. For seditious Preachers against the State Politicke, and scandalous inuighers against the State Ecclesiastick, vnder which they liue, bring distraction in those States, and destruction to themselues.

Adag.
Syncl.ep.67.

Nicephor.

Lucret.

Lin. l. 39.

Phil. de confu.
linguarum.

(1) *Tractare sacra illos, quod aiunt, manibus.*

(2) Πολιτικὴν ἀρετὴν ἱεροσύνη συνάγειν, τὸ κλειδίον ἐστὶ τῆ ἀσύγχλωστα: *velle ciuilem uirtutem coniungere cum sacerdotio, est miscere omnia non miscenda.*

Οὐ γὰρ διωκεία καὶ ἀμείβετο πολιτικὴ, οὐ τὴ πολλὰ συνείναι παράγει. *Spiritualis contemplatio & ciuilis administratio, ut plurimum inter se omnino non conueniunt.*

Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum?

Nihil in speciem fallacius quam praua religio est, ubi decorum numen prætenditur sceleribus.

Δυσχελεῖται τὴ πατρίδι πολιτεία, ὅταν καὶ κατὰ θεοῦ αἰετὶ τοῦ νόμου μελετῶνται. *Male affecti erga patriam instituta, & in reprehensionem semper legum accusationemq. insenti.*

Sauanarola, a man of a fiery and impetuous spirit, had in his sermons from time to time, perswaded the Florentines to a popular government, and preuailed: Had furthered and forced the law of Appellation, from the Magistrates to the Council of the Commons: Yet suffered it to take no effect, when the benefit of that law was demanded, by the offenders in *Medici's* conspiracy: whereby many of the Nobilitie lost their liues, & himselfe purchased much hatred, from their friends and kinsmen. He had confidently presaged of great felicity & enlargement to the Florentine State, & declination to the Sea of *Rome*: which, for his greater credit and reputation, he pretended to know by reuelation. He is accused to the Pope, of preaching scandalously against that Sea and Court: he is sequestred from preaching, silenced, and cited to *Rome*. He disobeyes in both. His enemies in the citie of *Florence* preferre new bills of complaint against him. He receiues new *Mandates*. The whole citie is diuided about him: so is the Clergie: in the end, his aduersaries get the vpper hand, and imprison him: his processe is framed: it cleares him of many calumnies and foule aspersions, of auarice, lust, and practice with other Princes: it chargeth him with scandalizing the present Church government: with taxing the Court and Clergie of corrupt and dissolute liuing: with challenging the Popes of intrusion and vnlawfull obtaining the Papacy: with perswading to an inuouation of the present State, and reducing things to the integrity of the times next after the Apostles: and mouing to haue a general Councell for reformation. For these causes, he is condemned, degraded, committed to the secular power, hanged, and burned.

APHO-

APHORISMES,

Ciuill and Militarie.

LIB. IIII.

APHORISME I.



Mong (1) States that haue entercourse of traffick, or dispute of right together; euery alteration in the one, begets new deliberations in all the rest: Especially vpon the death of any Prince, in whose State appears a new face of all things. Wherefore in these

deliberations, the neighbour States must imitate the Camelion, who often changeth his colour, and is alwaies with his eyes open.

(2) So must they change their former resolutions, and looke as well with the left eye, vpon what may be hurtfull; as with the right, vpon what may be aduantageous to them.

(1) *Nunquam os aperit, nec pupilla motu sed totius oculi uersione circumspicit: celsus biantie ore, colore mirabilior, mutat namq; eum subinde.*

Non timeamus Vespasianum, ea principis atq; ea moderatio.

Finis Neronis varios motus animorum non modo in urbe apud patres, apud populum, apud urbannos militem, sed omnes legiones, ducesq; concitauerat.

Finis vita eius nobis luctuosus, extraneis etiam ignotisq; non sine cura fuit.

Postquam prouecta iam senectus, agro & corpore fatigabatur, aeralq; finis & spes noua, pauci bona libertatis, plures bellum pauescere, alij cupere, pars multo maxima imminentes dominos varijs rumoribus differebant. Trucem Agrippam, &c.

(2) *Temporibus seruiendum: Nec quicquam satius, quam de illius consilijs, ex ipsius indole, moribusq; indicare, aut eorum qui apud illum magni.*

Principis naturam quocumq; ram habiturus es, aut ipse cognoscas oportet, aut tanquam ad lapidem illum Lydium communis fama. Singulis enim decipere & decipi possunt, nemo omnes, neminem omnes sefellunt.

Plin. na. hist.
1.8 cap. 33.

Tacit. hist. 4.
Tac. hist. 1.1.

Tac. Agric.

Tac. Annal.
1.1. fol. 3.

Lip. an. 1.3.

Plin. Paneg.

Guicci. l. 7.

Chi ha à fare prognostico delle deliberazioni d'altri, debbe (non si volendo ingannare) habuer in consideratione, non tanto quello che verissimamente farebbe un Sanio, quanto quello sia il cervello e la natura, di chi ha a deliberare.

Mace. p. 31.

Verum ibi Prudentia conspicua fit, ubi quis discriminis naturam proficit, atque iniqua rationis quod est, id tanquam commodum ad rem presentem arripit.

Lewes 12. succeeds to the crowne of France. It was likely in all reason of State, that he would not suddenly wrap himselfe into warres beyond the Alpes, in the beginning of his reigne, before his State were well settled at home. But those Princes of Italy that were best advised, suspected that their troubles would be greater than before: a King of ripe yeares being aduanced to that Mourarchie, experienced in the warres, a more moderate spender, more master of himselfe than his predecessor, and who, besides his title to Naples by the crowne of France, laid claime also to Millan, as he was Duke of Orleans.

APHORISME II.



Faire maid richly endowed, is neuer without Sutors: And a great State newly fallen, neuer without claimers: nor these ambitious competitors euer without some colour of title. In which concurrence of pretenders, not the iustest claime, but the sharpest sword commonly preuaileth.

Tacit. an. 15.

Virorum armorumq; faciendum certamen, id in summa fortuna aequius quod validius.

Plu apop.

Qui isto gladio prouales, is optimè de senibus despirat.

Tasso, cant. 2.

Et cheripone

Nella Spada sua legge, e sua ragione.

Tac. an. 15.

Sua retinere, prouata domus: de aliis certare, regiam landem putant.

Aneid. l. 11.

Ipsum armis, ipsumq; iubens decernere ferro.

Suet. de Agr.

Qui regnum Italiae et primos sibi poseat honores.

Lip. & Luc.

Si non dominaris filiola, iniuriam te accipere existimus.

Hac acies dictum factura nocentem est. (Subtilissima malitia est hoc Poeta.)

In

Lip. 2. Liui.

Suet fol. 103.

In arduis ius ferre: Et omnis virorum fortium esse. (improbum & hoc.)
Cornelius Centurio ostendens gladij capulum, non dubitauit in curia di-
cere, illic faciat si vos non feceritis.

Lewes Duke of Orleans, brother to Charles 6. and grandfa-
 ther to the present King, married Lady *Valamino*, daughter
 to *John Galeazzo*, first Duke of Milan. She had in Dower
 the town and Province of *Asti*; besides a great summe
 of money, and an expresse covenant, (in case the line ma-
 culine failed) she or her next heires to succeed in the Duke-
 dome. This conuenance was made, the Emperour being
 dead, and therefore inuvalidous, but that the French affirme
 it was ratified by the Pope, who pretends to haue this right
 in himselfe, *vacante Imperio*. Vpon the death of *Philip-*
Maria Visconti, (the last heire-male of that line) Charles,
 sonne to this Lewes, puts in his claime: So doth the Empe-
 rour *Fredericke*, as deuolued to the Empire, for default of
 heires males. The like doth *Alphonso* King of *Arragon* and
Naples, whom *Philip-Maria* had instituted his heire, by
 his last will and testament. But *Francis Zforza*, father
 to *Lodowicke* the present Duke, who married the onely
 daughter of *Philip-Maria* (though illegitimate) a great
 souldier of his time, and more powerfull in armes than the
 other competitors, more prudent in his deliberations, and
 successefull in his actions, makes good his Plea with his
 sword: carries the Prize from them all, and is inuested with
 the Duchie of Milan.

APHORISME III.

IT (1) is a great folly to lose what is our
 owne, through ouer-much negligence, as it is
 an offence to intrude upon others through too
 much ambition. For, not to seeke our right, is
 want of prudence; not to recover it, want of
 power; but not to demand it at all, is to quit it
 altogether: as gamesters that giue over their game, yeeld it lost.

Gg

(2) Where

(2) Wherefore the Prince who meanes not to quit his right, must from time to time put in his claime.

Salust. lug.

Demost. Phil.

Demost. Oly.

Cato ap. Col.
Alciat. Emb.

Pro Gall.
Plot. de Con.

Bod. rep. l. 2.

Tac. an. l. 14.

Bod. rep. 315.

(1) Non minus est turpe sua relinquere, quam in alicui innodere in-
fium & ambitiosum.

Quanam est causa cur Philippus plures res quam nos superiori bello ex
animi sententia gessit? hic ipsa militas, labores perferi, periculis adest, ne-
que occasionem rei bene gerenda pratermittens, neque ullam anni partem
omittens: Nos vero nihil facientes hic perpetuo sedemus cunctabundi, &c.

Quid multa bello perdidimus, ignavia nostra e iure adscribi conuenit.

Nihil agendo homines malo agere perdiscunt.

Sequites specie recti velata cucullo,

Non se, non alios utilitate tuas.

Qui quit se ien, se perd.

Neque est prudentia solum a iure, sed & a ratione: non solum ab eo, sed
& a iure.

(2) Nam disturnitui temporis efficere potest, ut quod pernicioso mo-
re & exemplo inneterant, potentius ipsa lege dominatur.

Agrus regis Apionis quondam habitas, & populo Rom. cum regno relictos,
proximus quisque possessor innaserant, distinaq. iniuria & licentia, qua-
si iure & equo uicti antur.

Disturna illa prescriptio temporum (sine interruptione & interpellati-
one) legitimam creationis vim habet.

Charles Duke of Orleans, father to Lewes 12. presently af-
ter the death of Philip Maria Visconti, puts in his claime to
Millan, though he were then prisoner in England, and there
remained five and twentie yeares, after the battaile of Agen-
court, where the English had vpon the French a most fa-
mous victory. After his returne into France, in the time of
Lewes 11. he renewes his claime. So did he againe the third
time, during the reigne of Charles 8. And now lastly, Lewes
his sonne is no sooner come to the Crowne, but by aduice
of his Councell, he proclaimes himselfe, not onely king of
France, but (in his right to Naples) King of both the Sicils
and Ierusalem, and (in right of his birth, as from the Duke
of Orleans) he entitles himselfe Duke of Millan. And sends
to the Princes of Italy publike and expresse intimation,
that he meant to pursue this his right to that Duchie.

APHORISME III.



He (1) Ethiopian Teale hath two hornes of a cubit long, which he can in fight move as he list, either both forward to offend, or both backward, to defend, or the one forward and the other backward, to both uses at once. (2) So should wise men apply their counsels and actions, to the times; and either put forth the hornes of their power, or pull them in, as present occasions are offered. For, as the Mariner changeth his course vpon the change of the wind and weather, yet still holdeth his purpose of getting in to the harbrough: so should Statesmen, vpon euery new occasion alter their sailes, and yeere another way, still making their course to the Port of the publike good and safetie.

(1) *Eale, magnitudine Equi suauitatis, canda Elephanti, colore nigra vel fulua: maxillas Apri habens, maiora cubitalibus cornua, mobilia, quae alterna in pugna fistit, variatq; infesta aut obliqua.*

(2) *Non cursum eundem tenere oportet, sed portum.*

Hominem etiam frangi saepe flectit occasio.

Consilia ad euentus, et tempora accommodanda, et saepe inflectenda sunt.

Sic Poeta laudat Vlysses nauis rectoris.

Les aduis doiuent estre accommodez à la nécessité du temps.

Honestè seruit, qui succumbit temporis.

Præsentem mulge, quid fugientem persequeris?

Temporibus semper sanctus seruire memento,

Nec restare velis aduersum flamma venti.

Plin. nat. hist.
lib. 8 cap. 21.

Lip. pol. 14.
Seneca.

Lip. an. lib. 3.
Homer. Od.
Am. Plu. Car.

Senec. Sert.
Adag. ex Th.
Phocylid.

Lewes 12. is resolved to come downe into Italy, to recover his right in Naples & Millan. Now the Pope stirred on through his owne particular ends and interest, which he saw he could not formerly effect by the quiet of Italy, and combination with those Princes against Charles 8; desires new troubles by this new King, and desseignes to further him in his wars on that side the mountains. The Venetians likewise being freed of their former feare of the other King, for the many oppositions they had made, & wrongs they had done him, see no cause of distrust in this Lewes 12; and therefore they send their Embassadors, both to

congratulate with him, and also to lay the foundation of such an amity and peace, as the occurrence of their affaires should offer to them both. But the Florentines on the other side, who in the former Kings time were alwaies in strict confederation with him against the other Italian Princes and States, finding themselves not tied to *Lewes* 12. in any such obligation of friendship and correspondence, as they were to his predecessor, by the treaties of *Florence* and *Asti*, are now ready to fall from his alliance, and to combine with the Duke of *Millan*. hoping of better helpe in the neare and ready supplies of *Lombardie*, then in the remote and slow succours of *France*.

APHORISME V.



AS (1) in nature, so in gouernment, nothing is permanent that is violent. It is therefore hard to see a Tyrant old. For though for a time he uphold his State by force and policie, (2) yet in the end diuine iustice confounds his practises, and insatuates his counsels, to his owne ruine and ouertrow. (3) For as in that mortall warre betweene the great Elephant and poisonfull Dragon, this one with his taile enclaspeth that others feet, making him fall, and be in his fall bursteth himselfe, and crusheth that other in peeces: So when Ambition and Enuie meet as combattants in the heart of a man, he needs no outward force to assaile him: for the venomous taile of his Enuie entangleth the winged feet of his Ambition, making him fall, and in the fall to burst with his owne weight.

Auer. Metap.
Arist. phy. 1.2.
Aulon. fol. 91.
Sarisb. 1.3.

Vcll. lib. 3.

(1) Violentum non est mansuum.

Nullum violentum est perpetuum.

Felix criminibus nullus erit diu.

Origo tyranni iniquitas est, & de radice toxicata, mala & pestifera germinat & pullulas arbor securi qualibet succidenda.

(2) Quippe ita se res habet, ut plerumq. qui fortunam mutaturus est, consilia corrumpat, efficiatq. quod miserrimum est, ut quod accidit, id etiam meritis accidisse videatur: & casus in culpam transeat.

Mentem

Mentem scilicet tunc adimit hominibus divina illa mens.

(3) *Elephantus perpetua discordia cum Dracone: Qui ipsum circumflexu facili ambit, nexuq; nodi perstringit. Commoritur eo dimicatione, victusq; corruens, complexum elidis pondere.*

Lodowicke Zforza, the poysoner of his Nephew, Vsurper of *Millan*, and Incendiary of all *Italy*, who had kindled the fire of all the late troubles in that country; sees now the Duke of *Orleans* (his competitor for *Millan*) advanced to the crowne of *France*. He perceives no possible meanes of attonement with him. He knowes by late experience, that all the States of *Italy* are not so auailable for his safety against *France*, as that one of *Venice*. Yet, in emulation of her greatnesse, that she should hold *Pisa*, and in enuy that she should reape the fruit of his long practices and trauailes, he ioynes at this vnseasonable and dangerous time with the Florentines against her, for the recouery of that city. Foolishly presuming, that the warre of *Pisa* would be ended, before the French King could set forward: and vainely supposing that the Venetians were too wise, euer to condescend that the French army should againe returne into *Italy*, to satisfie any grudge or wrong of their owne whatsoeuer: A fault whereof himselfe had beene more guilty than any other. Which ill grounded deliberation of his, opened the floudgates to all his misfortunes, with the streame whereof he was afterward carried prisoner into *France*, and there died a most miserable exile.

APHORISME VI.

He (1) Frogge and the Mousse were better take up their quarrell, than that the Kite should be their vmpire. For it hath beene a practice as old as since Philip of Macedon nourish warre betweene two neighbour Princes, to the weakning one of another, that the third, a stronger, might take his aduantage, and seize vpon both. (2) It is therefore a prudent deliberation in the weaker

Lip. pol. l. 1.

Plin. nat. hist.
18. cap. 11.

Luc. 18.

Tac. hist. 3.

Arist. pol. 1. 2.

Id. pol. 5.

Lucan. 1.

Idem. de mil. 1.

Tacit. ann. l. 1.

Tacit. ann. l. 1.

Lucan. 1. 3.

Cic. de orat. 1.

weaker (having smacked his drift) to compound their difference between themselves, and prevent the practicers designed plot.

Portin Guic.

(1) Zforzarsi con altrui spesa, far la strada à quanto egli con speranza hauena disegnato.

Tacit. hist. 4.

Proinde arriperent vacui occupatos, integri fessos: dum alij Vespasianum, alij Vitellium foueant, patere locum aduersus utrumq.

Aristoph.
Sal. de rep. or.

Prud agitato & turbato fagno, sic capiunt anguillas.

Io. bel. lu. 15.

Ita defessos & exangues, prada futuros.

Plutar. Alex.
Alci. em. 135.

Hostium dissensionem, lucrum sibi esse sentientes.

Gratorumq. dissensio causa Philippi incrementi & potentia.

Dum sanis ruerent in mutua vulnera telis

Herodot.

Vngue leana ferox, dente timendus aper,

Accurrit vultus spectatum, & prandia capiat,

Gloria victoris prada futura sua est.

Polyb. 14
Ioseph.

(2) Καταλλόμενοι τῷ ἐχθρῷ, καὶ τῷ ἑαυτῶν ἀλλήλους ὁρῶντες πολεμοῦσι. Mutantes inimicitias & odia in concordiam.

Sic Guosii Gortinijq. inito inter se fœdere, & omnia communi consilio agentes.

Canon. Leg.

Sic Iudæi visis Titi castris in monte Olinarum, in unum ordinem coagere qui antea trifariam diuisi: & licet bello intestino sanguis per portas Hierusalem efflueret, contra Romanos tamen quasi unus vir.

Plut. de frat.
amor.

Eaq. in re par est imitari Cretenses, qui crebris seditionibus bellisq. ciuilibus exagitati, extrinsecus aduersantibus hostibus, pacem ac societatem coinuerunt: (Hinc verbum Syncretismus.)

Indispe.

Sic. in. 15.

Sharpe warres are betweene the Orfini and Colonnefi, both whose States confine vpon the Church. Many townes and castles are taken on both sides: it comes to a day of bat-taille: many of them are slaine: their ensignes lost: the rest put to rout: and Charles Orfini taken prisoner. The Pope interposeth: offereth to be vmpire in their difference: dealeth with his wonted dissimulation and duplicitie, meaning to set them further out. The Orfini renew their forces: set downe before Columbara a strong towne of the enemy: the Colonnefi come to the succours. Here, before one blow giuen they call into serious consideration the Popes double dealing: how he had first animated the one side, and then set on the other: giuing foment to the warre and encouragement to the sides, with a purpose when they were both well wasted, to surprise both. Hereupon they come to a parley, and conclude an honourable and a profitable peace for both parties.

APHORISME VII.



Vch (1) is the force of Fate, as it can and will effect it ends, without any assistance, against all resistance. Yet commonly it worketh not alone, it is attended with second and subalterne causes, concurring in the partie himselfe whose ruine is destined.

(2) For, his counsailes and actions alwayes change with his fortunes, and make the way to his downe-fall.

(1) Fortuna omnipotens. & ineluctabile fatum.

Solent quidem fata suis voti medijs.

Non è cosa più difficile à schifare, che il fato: nessun rimedio è di bastanza contra i mali determinati.

Qua fato manent, quamvis significata non vitantur.

Certa si decreta fors est, quid cavere proderit?

Negli animi a ciecati dall' immoderata cupiditate, la Prudenza soffocata dalla temerità, non ha parte alcuna.

Nec declinari transcendiq, posse agmina fati & volumina.

(2) Ingenia tamen mentium nostrarum perinde sunt fato obnoxia, ut proprietates eorum est ipsa qualitas: est enim quasi fatale & consequens, ut mala ingenia peccatis & erroribus non vacent.

Præualebant iam fata consilijs, omnemq, animi eius aciem præstrinxerant.

Sine dolo, seu iam Troia sic fata ferebant.

Crede mihi, miseros prudentia prima reliquit,

Et sensus cum reconciliumq, fugit.

Neuer was Prince more secret and cautelous in his practices, neuer any lesse ouuert and more fained in his amities then Zforza: neuer had he more need than now of that warie proceeding, nor greater reason to keepe good quarter and correspondencie with the Venetians, at least not to sharpen or exasperate them with contumelies. Yet contrary to his owne nature, and old wont, he breathes out many virulent opprobrious speeches, he brances them with many and imperious threats: he denies their souldiers passage through the Parmesan countrie: he causeth the Emperour to dismisse their Embassadors: he lends their enemies (the Florentines) three hundred crossbowes on horse backe: he ioynes with them in the charge, of

Virg. An. 8.

Mac. disc. 12.

Por. in Guic.

Tacit. Hist. 1.

Auf. fol. 92.

Mac. disc. 12.

Cell. 16. c. 2.

Id. lb.

Cell. 12.

Virg. An. 2.

Oui. Pont. 4.

of entertaining three hundred men at armes: he lendeth them money at severall times, to the summe of three hundred thousand Duckats and vpwards: and offers more aid, as they shall haue need. This distraction from Venice, and open profession of opposition against her, hastened his deserved and destined ouerthrow.

APHORISME VIII.



He (1) Monarch first propoundeth honour: then the publike good: and lastly proprietary interest and profit. (2) But the popular State euermore inuerteth this order: For it hath priuate gaine in the first intention, the common good in the second, and honour in the last. Which diuersity of proceeding ariseth, not out of the different formes of their gouernment, but out of their different natures that gouerne. So great oddes there is betweene a Prince and a Citizen.

Ceteris mortalibus in rebus consilia, quid sibi conducere putent: Principum diuersam esse sortem, quibus precipua rerum ad famam dirigenda.

Tot tantorumq; bonorum & munerum quae diu largiuntur, nullus est fructus aut usus rectus, sine lego iure, & Principe. Ius finis est legis: Lex, opus est Principis: Princeps autem imago Dei omnia administrantis.

Gloriam & honorem & imperium bonus & ignauus aequè sibi exoptant. Si bonus, veraminiur: sed ignauus quia bona arte, de nobis, dolis atque fallacijs contendit.

Nec tibi quid liceat, sed quid fecisse deo debet occurat, mentemq; dantes respectus honesti.

Resp. cibus qui non id facit potius, quam sui quasi, animus hand induci potest cum essetiam & fidelem & bonum, sed legirupam.

(2) *Non didicisti monere puellas tibia, Quæstui solo seruimus, non lætæmur tibi illis.*

Civitas principatum obtinens, nihil non honestum quod vile sit.

Optima civitas, quæ archidæ pecunia primum est.

Virtus potest muneris.

Prinatum vilitatem bono publico anteponat.

Sophia componit esse pñ ne glis homini senza comparazione gli si moli del suo est proprio che il rispetto del beneficio comune.

Præstus amicitia: vilitate probat.

Quar-

Step 14

Step 15

Step 16

Step 17

Step 18

Step 19

Step 20

Step 21

Step 22

Step 23

Step 24

Step 25

Step 26

Step 27

Step 28

Step 29

Step 30

Step 31

Step 32

Step 33

Step 34

Step 35

Step 36

Step 37

Quarrels had beene long militant and on foot, betweene the two States of *Venice* and *Genoa*. For, besides their ancient emulation and grudge, the *Genowese* were also of late growne icalous of the *Venetians* greatnesse and neighbourhood, if they should get *Pisa* into their peaceable possession; and therefore desired nothing more than to stop her course in that purchase. Yet are they content that the *Venetian* shipping employed in that seruice, should haue harbour and relecte vpon the coast of *Genoa*, paying well for it; and their Merchants trafficke and commerce with them, for such commodities as they need, because many priuate citizens had benefit thereby.

APHORISME IX.



He (1) *Dolphin* finding himselfe unable to hurt the *Crocodile*, by reason of his hard scales which no weapon can pierce, diueth vnder him, and with his sharpe finne striketh him into the belly being soft and tender, and so killeth him.

(2) What Nature hath taught the creature, Experience hath taught man: To strike the enemy where he may be most hurt, and leaue things impossible vnattempted. For Prudence is of force, where force preuailes not. (3) And therefore Direction is left to the Commander, Execution to the souldier: who is not to aske why, but to doe what he is commanded.

(1) *In ventre mollis et nuiusq; cutis Crocodilo: ideo se ut terrisi mergunt Delphini. subeuntesque alium illa secant spina.*

(2) *Nusquam culpā male rem gessit, semper consilia viciis.*

De instantibus atq; improvisis verè, & de futuris callidissime conijciebat. In obrundis expeditionibus, dubium cautior, an prudentior.

Essendo tassato di non esser molto pugnace, rispose: Che la sua Madre l'hauena generato, non soldato ma Capitano.

La Prudence doit conduire & manier la force.

Plerumque quæ secundum rationem hominibus prospera eveniunt, stabiliora sunt quàm quæ præter opinionem.

(3) *Parendo potius quàm imperia Ducum sciscitando, rei militaris continetur.*

Diuisa inter Duces Militesq; munia: His arma & manibus sint, illis consilium & virtutis suæ specimen relinquant.

Militem primariū non solum debere esse iudicem, sed & ducem pueri & mulieris.

Hh

Non

Plin. nat. hist. l. 8. cap. 25.

Prob. de lph.

Thucyd. de

Themist.

Suet. de Cæs.

Bot. de Scip.

& Plutarch.

Am. Plu. Soc.

Thucyd. l. 3.

Tac. an. l. 1.

Tac. an. l. 1.

Xenoph. Cyri- ad. l. 1.

p

Virg. En. 1.

Tacit. hist. 1.

Non solum volentem ad subeundum, sed & promptum ad parendum.

Tunc o Regina quod opes

Explorare labor, mihi iussa capessere fas est.

Tam nescit quidam miles quam scire oportet; ita se Ducum authoritas, sic rigor disciplina habet: se ubi subvertitur, quærere singulis licet, peregrino obsequio etiam imperium intercidit.

The Florentine Generall sets downe before *Casina*, leuels the ground, razeth the impeachments, and makes shew as if he would take the place, and so march directly to *Pisa*. The enemy expects no lesse, and prepares to receiue him. But he, considering the obstinate resolution of the *Pisans*, their valour by long practice in war, the great forces of the *Venetians* ioyned with them, & the strength of their works and fortifications about that place, holds it impregnable. He resolues rather with time to weare them out, and with stopping their succours to distresse them, than by hazard of fight to force them. Therefore he suddenly riseth from before *Casina*, marcheth ouer the hills on the right side the riuer *Arno*, to impeach all passages by land that way. He encampes before *Bui* Castle, and takes it: he builds a fort vpon the mountaine *S. Iohn della Vena*: and another vpon *Pietra Dolorosa*. He brings vnder contribution all the *Val-di-Calci*. He takes by composition the fort which the *Pisans* had lately built vpon *Vico*: and shortly after *Vicopisano* it selfe: and lastly laies siege to *Verucola*. In all which important seruices, not so much his souldiers readinesse in execution, as his owne prudence in direction was remarkable.

APHORISME X.



He (1) countrie Cormorant makes his aduantage of his poore neighbours distresse, and raiseth the market as he sees his need. So a couetous Prince will not affoord one barley corne of his assistance, at a lesse rate then one of the fairest gemmes in his neighbours Crowne.

Crowne. A price so high, and his necessity so great, as he can neither with his honour grant, nor with his safetie denie.

(2) But in so disastrous a Dilemma as this, he is rather to stake all his fortunes vpon one chance of hazardous battell, than to share with so couetous, ambitious, and false a friend.

(1) *Insidiantur temporibus aliena appetentes.*

Prosperis tuis rebus certant ad obsequium, fortunam aduersam omnes ex aquo destruant.

Apud uerūm, nūc autē EULAMUM. Ruente quercu, ligna quini colligit.

Quod utilis ut vexillum suum praelis & explicuit, illic enim.

Postulabant, non ut assequerentur, sed causam seditioni.

Crescit interea Roma Alba ruinis.

Sic Serpens Serpentem edit ut Draco fiat.

(2) *Postulatis Alcibiades qua adeo modum supergrederentur, ut per Athenienses (eisi ingentibus saepe postulatis acquiescerent) staret, quod minus conueniretur.*

Ab nimium quod amice petis, moderatius opta,

Et voti quaso contrahere vela tui.

Instam rem & facilem esse oratam a vobis volo,

Nam iuste a iustis in finem sum orator datus.

Pope Alexander desires to aduance his sonne *Cesar Borgia* to temporall States, being now resolved to renounce his Cardinals hat : he sees the great distresse of *Fredericke* king of Naples, if he should forsake him, and combine against him with *France* : which he threatneth to do, vnlesse he will grant his daughter in marriage to his sonne *Cesar Borgia*, and the Principalltie of *Taranto* to her Dowry : presuming, if *Borgia* (of a high spirit and great reach) were once Lord of so important a member of that Realme, he might easily with his owne forces, and pretensions of the Church, driue his father in law out, being slenderly provided of men, worse of money, and hauing many of the Barons ill affected, and apt to rebell against him. *Frederick* discouers the match, and sees the mischief, which way soeuer he takes : therefore chuseth rather to reiect the offer, and stand to the hazard, than by his owne act to be accessory to his owne destruction.

Lip. pol. l. 4.

Tacit. hist. l. 3.

Scholia Th.

Lip. pol. l. 4.

Tacit. hist. l. 4.

Mac. & Liui.

Adag.

Thucyd. l. 3.

Quid.

Plaut. Amph.

Ant. C. int. 3.

APHORISME XI.



IN moraliitie, it is a greater vice to commit a wickednesse, than to omit the doing of a vertuous act: So in martiall gouernment, it is worse for the souldier to do what he is forbidden in his owne campe, then not to doe what he is commanded vpon the enemy: For this onely bereaues him of some faire aduantage; but that laies himselfe open to all ambush and defeat.

Thucyd. l. 3.

Ναυτιον τι το γαρ πολευον, το ιδιον, ες το αικνεον, ες το τοις εχθροις επιδιδον.
Velle, vereri, obedire, boni militis mania.

Veget. l. 9.

Ne locum deserans, ne ordines turbent milites.

Idem. l. 1.

Ne vltra quam expedit, aut conglobent agmen, aut laxent.

Lip. poll. 5.

Custodiendi milites intra limites, aliter soluitur militia tua immo perit.

Valer. l. 1.

Omnibus imperij nervis, ad reuocandam pristina disciplina militie, debes inniti.

Tacit. an. 13.

Remedium seueritate quaesitum est, idq. vsu salubre & misericordia melius apparuit: quippe pauciores illa castra deseruere, quam eam quibus ignoscebatur.

Tacit. an. 13.

Sic Pactium primipilum, tenere se munimentis & maiores copias operari iussu, rupto imperio pugnantem, Corbulo increpitum Pactium, & praefectos militesq. tendere omnes extra vallum iussit. Nec nisi precibus vniuersi exercitus exsolati sunt.

Xen. inst.
Cyril.

Θιανδιδουορ μιστ' εωρεται. i. Periculum subire instructo ordine.

After the Ritsans victory at S. Regolo, their souldiers together with the Venetian Estradiots range at pleasure vp and downe the countrie, in great troupes, and greater carelesnesse and disorder: They conforme not themselves to discipline, nor command of their Captaines. *Paul Vitelli* Generall of the Florentine forces espies the aduantage: lies in ambush neare *Casina*: lets suddenly vpon the Venetians, led by *Marco Martinengo*: puts them to flight, and kills many of the Estradiots, with *Iohn Gradenigo* Leader of their men at armes. He takes prisoner *Franco* a commander of the Estradiots, and a hundred horse besides.

APHORISME XII.

Hope (1) is in the mind of man, as is the vitall spirit in his body: the first that possesseth, and last that leaueth the heart. But hope fastened vpon no other ground but will, is like the Musbrome, which starteth vp in a night, and only of all other Plants growing without root, is easily blowne away, and perisheth. (2) So doe the actions of men, built vpon this light sand and loose hold of wilfull hope. Because it makes that seeme easie and feasible to the eye of their imagination, which reason and the event shewes to be most difficult and dangerous.

(1) *L'esperance demeure la dernière en la bête de la vie humaine.*

Spes quæ magna sunt, pusilla facit; quæ pusilla, prorsus nulla.

Thales sciscitatus quid maxime esset commune omnibus? Spes, respondit: hanc enim etiam illi habent, qui aliud nihil.

Spes nihil aliud quam vigilantium somnium.

(2) *Nec quicquam potest esse diuturnum, cui non subit ratio.*

Hæc talia velut repente fatigata deficiunt.

Spes è proprio de gli Huomini, farsi facile con la voglia & con la speranza, quello che con la ragione cognoscono esser difficile.

Che'l Miser suole

Dar facil credenza a quel che vuole.

Nous embrassons volontiers l'esperance, quand ell'est conformée à nos desirs.

Alternant spes & timor & fidem.

Cum fallax vbi libet, cum in bello fallacissima spes est.

Nam multa præter spem scio multis bona euasisse: S. at ego etiam qui sperauerint spem decipisse multos.

The Souldiers in Pisa haue a great desire to surprize and raze the fort built lately vpon *Pietra Dolorosa*; although it was strengthened round about with the Florentine forces, and they vnder the command of *Vitelli*, a prudent and vigilant Chieftaine: yet they hold the enterprise easie, if the attempt be sudden and secretly carried. To this purpose they present themselues before the place, early in the morning ere it was yet day; with two hundred light horse, and some foot, (by report foure hundred.)

Am. Plu. Cat.

Cato. in Plu.

Stobæ. Sermon.

Plato.

Vell. l. 1.

Curt. l. 4.

Por. in Cic.

Ariost. Cat.

Am. Plutar.

Ouid. epist.

Petr. dia. l. 2.

Plaut. Rud.

this time the State of *Florence* neuer sent any Embassador to *Venice*, nor sought any accord. Partly, not to offend the French King, their confederate: partly, because they found their owne forces weake, and therefore not likely to preuaile in the motion. *Charles 8.* is now dead, and their forces very great by *Zforzas* meanes: besides they vnderstand by the Duke of *Ferrara* and others, that the Venetians were willing to an accord, if they were sought ynto, and treated with as superiors, not as equalls. The State of *Florence* altereth her former resolution: Makes choise of *Guy-Antony Vespucci* and *Barnardo Rucellai*, two honourable personages, to goe thither in Embassage. They are admitted to the presence of the Duke and Councell, and haue audience. They excuse their sending no sooner, by the qualitie of the times, and diuers accidents of let, in their State. They demand a finall cessation from warre, and that the Venetians would relinquish the protection of *Pisa*. They are answered: that if a course were taken, whereby the Pisans might enioy their liberty, they would make it appeare to the world, that neither desire of dominion, nor any other particular interest of their owne, had caused them at first to vndertake that enterprile, or now to continue it longer. The Florentines can get no other answer: they returne: hauing thus farre sounded the Venetians resolution, that nothing but necessity could force them to quit the protection of *Pisa*.

APHORISME XIII.



*W*hile (1) the riuer runnes entire with all his water in one bed, his current is the swifter, and his force the greater, and danterth the most hardy to aduenture passage: But being diuided into seuerall streames, it prooues so slow and shallow, as it may with safety, and at ease, be waded ouer. (2) So is it in the current of warlike actions: Power vnited is the stronger, and the best meanes

to

to weaken it, is by diuerſion and diſtraction into ſeueral ſeruices.

Rag. Stat.

(1) Come auuicene à un fiume, che mentre corre entiero & con tutta l'acqua in un Letto, fa con grandiffimo impeto il ſuo corſo, & ſpauenta le città benche boniffimo murate: ma ſe ſi diuide in più parti, perde la forza, & è paſſato à guazzo d'ogni vno. Coſi appunto le forze d'un Effercito, &c.

Par. l. 2. di C.

Multiplicandoſi la forza & vertu de' Motori, ſi fa il Moto maggiore.

Tac. de Mili.
Apronij.

(2) Satis validi ſi ſimul incubuiſſent, per internallum adueniantes, neque conſtantiam addiderant turbatiſ, & panore fugientium perterrebantur.

Tac. an. l. 17.

Nam Cecinna non ſimul cohortes, ſed ſingulas accinerat: qua res in praliſ trepidationem auxit, cum diſperſos nec unquam validos, panor fugientium abriperet.

Am. è Tacit.

Vitellius dum diſpergit vires (inquit Tacitus) diede ad effer tagliati a pezzi, & fatti prigionj i più valoroſi ſoldati ſuoi, & inſino alla morte reſolati à morir in ſeruiſio ſuo. (inferſ Ammiratus.)

Pro. Lat.

Virtus vnita fortior.

Onup. de di.

Diuidens quod vnum validiſſimum erat, utrumq; reddidit imbecilliſ.

Rom. Imp.

Dum ſinguli pugnant, vniuerſi vincuntur.

Tacit. Agric.
Liui. l. 1.

Sic Horatius ſolus, vniuerſis nequaquam par, cepiſſit fugam vt hoſtes ſegregaret.

The Florentine armie is ſtrong in the territory of Piſa. The Venetians find all the power they can make too weake to reſiſt them, or to force them quit the oppugnation of that city. They therefore entertaine the Duke of Vr-bine and other Captaines in pay, with five hundred men at armes, to aſſaile ſome other part of the Florentine State. They deſſeigne, that Peter Medici with Charles Orſini, and Bartholomew Aluiano, with all their troopes, ſhall giue vpon another quarter. They earneſtly labour Iohn Bentiuoglio, to breake in vpon them on that ſide towards Bologna: and importune them of Siena, to grant paſſage to their forces. To the intent, that begirting the enemy thus on all ſides, they might force him to withdraw ſome of that power from the oppugnation of Piſa, and imploy it to the defence of other places, that they meane while might ſet vpon the reſt of the army; which now (thus vnited) was farre too ſtrong for them.

APHORISME XV.



LO. (1) nourish faction betwene officers in a great household, or greatmen in a Monarchie, is no ill policie; so it haue his awfull limits curbed in the supreme power; but in a free State it is very dangerous; because in such a gouernment, greatmen of factious emulation, are like strong (but contrary) windes; and the multitude is like the sea (immoueable of it selfe) but stirred to furie and rage by others motion. (2) The effect therefore of such factions in such States, is either a generall dissipation of the whole, or a particular vsurpation of the victor.

(1) *Multitudo omnis sicut natura maris, per se immobilis est; ut venti & aura ciens, ita aut tranquillum aut procella in vobis sunt: & causa atque origo omnis furoris penes auctores est, vos contagione insaniis.*

Popula mobilem animum, & si se Ducem praeuissset, easdem illas adulationes pro Vespasiano fore.

(2) *Nobilium factiones trahunt ad se, & in partes, uniuersum populum.*

Sunt dissipanda magistratum, & potentium factiones.

Alta sedent civilis vulnera dextra.

Vsq; adeo miserum est civili vincere bello.

Nec aliud discordantis patriae remedium fuisse, quam ut ab uno regetur.

Sic Augustus, cuncta discordijs civilibus fessa, nomine Principis sub imperium accepit.

Sulla quod exiguum restabat sanguinis urbi, hausit.

Neque alius solet esse discordiarum exitus inter claros & potentes viros, nisi aut uniuersus interitus, aut victoris dominatum ad regnum.

There is great discord in Siena betweene Pandolpho Petrucci on the one side, and Nicholas Borgbesi with the family Belanti on the other. These would haue passage granted through their State, to the Duke of Urbine and his forces, which came on the Venerians behalfe to make warre vpon Florence. The greater part of the citizens bandie on this partie, being drawne by their dependance on these Noblemen, and by their inueterate hatred to the Florentines. Petrucci withstands them with stronger forces of reason, but weaker power of Partizans and adherents. He

Liui. 18.

Tac. hist. 13.

Arist. pol. 1.1.

Id. pol. 5.

Lucan. 21.

Idem eodem.

Tacit. an. 1.1.

Tacit. an. 17.

Lucan. 1.1.

Cic. de arusp.

sends secretly for his friends and followers out of the countrey: he procures the Florentines to send three hundred men at armes, and a thousand foot to Poggibionse, a place of theirs vpon the frontiers of Siena. With the reputation of these forces, and assistance of his friends in the citie, he forceth his opposites to condescend to a peace with Florence for five yeares. By this accord being growne more powerfull, he killeth Borgbesi, terrifieth the rest, and assures himselfe in the tyrannous vsurpation of Siena.

APHORISME XVI.



S (1) we feele more sensible comfort of the Suns heat when we are cold: So, the greater our extremitie is in any danger, the greater we hold the power by which we are releued: (2) attributing that to fortune and miracle, which is in nature. (3) Yet is it most true, that all such operations (though naturall) are guided and disposed by a supernaturall providence, which prepareth and disposeth the Object to the present Influence.

(1) Passio recipitur, non tam per conditionem agentis, quam dispositionem patientis.

Receptum non recipit per modum imprimentis, sed per modum recepti-
uitatis.

(2) Eadem stella non usquequaque pruinis aut calores cient, sed mutant & variant, tempestatesq; eodem in tempore alibi placidas alibi violentas mouent: Cur non euentu quoque rerum ac negotiorum, alia efficiunt in Chaldeis, alia in Getulis, alia apud Danubium, alia apud Nilum?

Ei casus imprudentia succurrit, ut pictori quondam equum pingenti, cum ex radio sponsa in opus impacta esset, quod ars imitari non potuerat, casus expressit.

Sic ipsa dimicationis hora, resolutus repente Rhennus, cum transiret ad Antonium copias Barbarorum inhibuisset, mira felicitate Domitianum absentem victorem fecit.

Victoriam illi pr alio error dedit.

Centum doctum hominum consilia, sola hac deuincit dea (Fortuna.)

Ἡ ἀντιπρὸς τῆς τύχης μάχη ἐκείνη. Ars militaris plurimum a fortuna dependet.

Existimo

Luc. bel. Ma.

Thucyd. Ma.

Plut. de lib.

7. 1. 1.

Seneca.

Plut. de virt.

Plut. in Guic.

Ag. Can. 28.

Thucyd. Lt.

Persius.

H. 2. 1. 1.

Canon. Log.

Scale. 16.

Gell. 14. 1. 1.

Bod. rep. 4.

Suet. in Do.

Flot. 1. 4.

Plaut.

Plato.

Existimo olim Maximo, Marcello, Scipioni, Mario, & ceteris magnis Imperatoribus, non solum propter virtutem, sed etiam propter fortunam, sapius imperia mandata atque exercitus esse commissos.

(3) — Iddio

*Ha sotto i piedi il fato, e la natura,
Ministri humili, e l'moto, e che l'misura.*

Providentia omnia inferiora reguntur.

Non hac sine numine Divum — Eueniunt,

Non hac humanis opibus, non arte magistro

Proveniunt, maior agit Deus.

— Deum namque ire per omnes

Terrasq; tractusq; maris, caelumq; profundum.

*Vt hominum membra, mente ipsa & voluntate mouentur: Sic numine
Deorum omnia fiuntur, mouentur, atque mutantur.*

Cic. pro leg.
Manil.

Tasso. cant. 9.

Fici. in Plat.

Virg. Æn. 2.

Vir. Æn. 12.

Virg. geor. 4.

Cic. nat. Deor.
1.3.

Peter and Iulian Medici take the Borrough of Marradi, a towne belonging to the Florentine State, seated vpon the Appennine, neare Romagna. They encampe before the rocke Castiglione, standing right ouer the towne: a peece by situation impregnable; yet they are in hope presently to carrie it for want of water, whereof they within had none at all, by reason of the height of the place, and hardnesse of the flint it stood vpon. They are in tearmes to render; when sodainly there falls such wonderfull store of raine, as all the cisternes and vessels they haue are filled. The assailants disappointed of their hopes by this sodaine accident, and now in despaire to carrie the place, rise vp from the siege, and depart. On the other side that State, towards the neather sea, falls out another strange accident. Paul Vitelli sets downe before Librafatta, plants his artillerie: makes a breach so assaultable, as he doubts not the next morning to carrie the towne. The same night, by chance falls downe an arch of the wall, which filled the breach, and raised the rampart two ells higher than it was before. So as, after three daies triall to get it by Scalada, and much hurt receiued in his armie by a peece from the towne, he despaires of successe, and is vpon rising. When sodainly a shot made at randon into the towne, dismounts that Peece, and kils the Cannonier; whereupon the besieged call a parley, and yeeld.

APHORISME XVII.



THe (1) Sunne shineth brightest through a vapour dispersed, and vertue shewes her best lustre upon an encounter. Men therefore that would stand before others in glory, must strive to breake through the mistie clouds of all passions and perturbations, that their vertue may shine above others in worth. Such contention as this, (to be best) is the whetstone and spurre to courage and well-deserving. (2) But an emulation to be first, is the Remora of all good service.

Bod. rep. l. 4.

Bod. rep. l. 5.

Lip. and. l. 3.

Tacit. hist. l. 14.

Rag. Stat. l. 3.

Ouid. Met.
Mec. p. 116.
ap. 22.Ammirat. l. 1.
Solut. apud
l. 10. at.

Litt. lib. 6.

Ammirat. l. 1.

(1) La Vertu n' a jamais son lustre, s'elle n'est pas combattue : & l'homme ne se montre jamais vertueux, si non alors qu'il est picqué d'honeste ambition, pour faire de beaux & grands exploits, & tousiours pour l'utilité publique.

Les partialitez, que tu nous reproches sont utiles au publique : Car nous devons à qui mieux, pour vaincre son ennemi, en mieux faisant.

(2) Semper ita enemi, ut sint inter collegas emulationes: Quae deponenda sunt, aut saltem seponenda, Aristidis & Themistoclis exemplo.

In ista Classicius Suetonio discors, bonum publicum privatis simulationibus impediēbas.

Periculosa cosa è l' invidiosa distribuzione della gratia, & dello proportionato honore.

Sic ego torrentem quā nil obstabat eunti,

Lenius & modico strepitu decurrere vidi :

At quacunq; trabes obiecta q; saxa tenebant,

Spumens & feruens, & ab obice sanior ibas.

Emulatio quae ex contentione procedit quia eorum sis maior, (& praecedentia vocatur) inter Duces exitiabilis, maximisq; negotijs nihil magis nocet.

Ex discordia Consulū mala quaeque in administratione rerum militarium enenire, & propè ad ultimum discrimen suis & collega certaminibus nuper ventum.

Remedium Tiberij huic morbo, ut non pares, sed titulis & autoritate differētes ministerentur.

The Duke of Millan entertaines the Marquis of Mantoa and his men at armes : a braue souldier, and renowned commander; whose worth and reputation iustly purchased in the warres, was likely to aduance much his affaires in Pisa. He, among other conditions, assures the Marquis

in

in the word of a Prince, to make him Generall of all his army, within three moneths after. The time is expired: promise is not kept: because the Duke would not displace nor displease *Galeazzo da San-Seuerino*, a man greater with him in fauour than in desert, who strongly opposed the Marquis, not able to endure a Corriuall. The Marquis holds himselfe wronged, his worth vnderualued, and his seruice vnrewarded. He leaues the Duke (to the hinderance of that seruice) and resolues to returne to the Venetians pay, who greatly desired it, and at this time and in this affaire of *Pisa*, were *Zforzas* professed enemies.

APHORISME XVIII.

T (1) Were better not to make lawes against the abuses of the times, or corruption of mens manners, than being made, and broken, not to put them in execution. For, this maketh euery priuate mans offence, the sinne of the publike. Because, to omit the punishment thereof, is to commit it. (2) Wherefore, direction for suppressing a conspiracy, and punishing the offender according to law, is not onely fruitlesse, but dangerous, when the execution both of the one and the other proceeds not speedily: being misled by a credulous negligence, and miscarried by a foolish lenity. For, there is a cruelty in some kind of mercy, though there be no mercy in cruelty.

(1) Sono inutili i consigli diligenti & prudenti, quando l'effecutione procede con Negligenzia, & con Imprudenzia.

(2) Neque è periculo Principis fama clementia affectanda.

Ne ista mansuetudo & misericordia illi in miseriam vertat.

Tales isti abscondendi: non tam ulciscendi causa, quam ut in praesens sceleratos cines timore ab im pugnanda Patria deterreas, & in posterum documentum statuas, ne quis talem amentiam velit imitari.

Supplicium de ijs sumendum: non tam ut ipsi pereant, quam ut alios pereundo deterreant.

Debitas penas dabis: Lentum est dabis. Dat: hoc quoque lentum est: dedit.

Seram post scelus veniam quarebas.

Consulere securitati in ista vltione, & modicu remedijs primos motus confedisse.

Por. in Guic.

Tacit. hist. 2.

Salust. Catil.

Cic. ad Brut.

Sene. de ira.

Sen. Her. fu.

Plu. de Doll.

Tac. Ann. 14.

Nisi

Seneca Sent.
Seneca Sent.
Adag.

*Nisi vindices delicta, improbitatem adiuntes,
- Qui culpa ignoscit uni, suadet pluribus.
Est quadam crudelis misericordia.*

Seneca.

L. p. p. l. s.

Plu. de. Grac.

Tacit. hist. 1.

Tacit. an. d. 3.

Bod. J. 3.

U. de. exp.

Scipienus.

Plut. in Rom.

Plu. de. Grac.

Capitol. ad
Diocletian.

Am. de. Soci.

The fauourers of *Peter Medici* had conspired the betraying of *Bibiena*, a castle of much importance in the *Ca-*
sentine cuntry: the *Florentines* haue some inckling here-
of by a generall buzze there was of some such plot, but
more particular and certaine notice by letters of aduice
from *Bologna*. To preuent this mischiefe, they send a
gouernor thither, with directions to attach the pra-
ctisers, and assure the place. He apprehends many of
them: and foolishly trusting their protestations, sets
them free againe. He appoints no Guards at the ports:
and suffers them to be opened euery morning, as early as
they were wont to be in times of no suspition. *Aluiano*,
who entertained the plot with the conspirators in the
towne, and had daily intelligence from them, sends cer-
taine horsemen, in the habit of Victuallers, to march be-
fore: they trauaile all night, and come to the place, iust at
the opening of the port. They possesse themselues of it
without any resistance: other troopes of horse come pre-
sently after, and giue out that they were friends of *Vitellies*
companies, (the *Florentine* Generall:) the conspirators
within the towne seeing their friends come, rise in armes,
ioyne with them, and make themselues masters of the
place.

APHORISME XIX.



He (1) furious courser breaketh his winde,
and bursteth himselfe in the midst of his
carreer: whereas the *Snaile* comes to the
toppe of the hill in her due time as well as
the *Eagle*. With time and straw men ripen
medlars, and their affaires with leisure and
meanes. (2) Wherefore he that will doe a thing well, must haue
patience to tarry till it may be well done. For, it hurteth as
much

much to anticipate the occasion, as to fore-flow it being offered: And to pluck her as fruit before she be ripe, harmeth as much as to suffer her rot: Men of hot spirits erre in the first, for scarce doe they perceiue the shadow of her, but they runne to catch at it, and thinking to take hold of the solid substance, embrace nothing but the emptie aire. Whereas the wary and well advised Commander, holds it safer to weary and wear out the enemy by cunctation and delay, then to put all to hazard by haste. In this danger, in that a Fabian vertue.

(1) *Dum festino omnia celeriter percurrere, tardior sum.*

Perdere l'haleine au milieu de la carrière.

Con tempo & con la paglia maturano le nespole.

(2) *Scito militibus cupidinem pugnandi conuenire: Duces prudentia, cunctando, cunctatione, sapius quam temeritate pordesse.*

Vnus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem:

Non minus est imperatoris consilio superare, quam gladio.

Contator natura, ut cui cauta potius consilia cum ratione, quam prospera ex casu placent.

Non stimaua egli le parole altrui, doue n'andasse l'interesse publico & la salute della Patria: ne si curaua che la cantela si chiamasse timidità, o la considerazione tardanza, o la disciplina dappocaggine: Et voleva anzi esser temuto dal suo nemico, che lodato da' pazzi Cittadini.

Fabio Massimo aspettando con Pazienza, la buona occasione del combattere, sosteneua le parole sconcie, che di lui si diceuano: Non rispondendo altro, che haueua per più vile, chi temeuo i maledisci, che chi fuggiuo da' nemici: Perche questo fuggiuo da' fati, & quello solamente dalle parole.

Fabius nouam de Hannibale victoriam commentus est. Non pugnare: ut qui frangi virtute non poterat, mori committeretur. Hinc illi Cognomen nouum & reip. salutare. (Cunctator.)

Vn capitano, che d'inclito e di saggio

E di Magno, e d'inuito il nome merita,

Non dico per ricchezza o per linaggio

Ma perche spesso habbia fortuna esperta:

Non si vuol mai fidarsi sul vantaggio

Che la vittoria si prometta certa:

Sta sempre in dubbio, ch'haner debbia cosa

Da ripararsi il suo nemico a scosa.

Aluiano with the Florentine exiles are strong in the Casentine Prouince: For besides Bibiena, they haue taken in many other places. The Duke of Urbine, Charles Orsini, and other Leaders, with seuen hundred horse, and fix thousand foot, are ioyned with him. The State of Florence calls
hither

Plat. rep. 7.

Pro. Gall.

Pro. Ital.

Tac. hist. 1.3.

Cic. ex Enni.

Com. c. Liui.

Tac. de Sue.
Paulino.

Boter. de fab.
Max. c. Liui.

Lort. auvert.
406.

Cic. de Off.

Florus. 1.1.

Plin. 1.8 c. 17.

Art. Cant. 11.

hither *Paul Vitelli* their Generall, from the seruice of *Pija*, to oppose against these so great forces, and preuent this more eminent danger. He is come: determines to follow his old wont, of tiring and wearing out the enemy with time, considering that the countrie was mountainous, the Peasants readie to take euery least aduantage vpon them, and that *Arezzo* was assured with a strong Garrison, vnder the gouernment of *Count Rinuccio*: So as he need not feare any matter of great import to be attempted by them, to whom it would be hard to stay, and more difficult to doe any good by staying. And therefore he resolues not to put his whole army and maine of those warres, vpon one daies triall. But he stoppes the passages of the mountaines, and other places of the countrey with his Guards, Sconces, Rentrenchments, and other fortifications. The enemy by this meanes is brought into great extremity, and despaires of succours, or preuailing with thole he had. He steales away by whole troopes: and in those places and streights is stript and slaine, by the souldiers of *Vitelli* army, or the peasants of the countrie.

APHORISME XX.

What giueth life to the law, he may giue life forfeited by the law: he may pardon the offence, though he cannot wipe off the guilt. But vntill a law be abrogated, by the same power it was establisbed, he can neither disanull the force, nor warrant the fact: Much lesse can man dispense with the lawes diuine, or warrant and approue what they condemne. Wherefore the Sea of Rome where all things are vendible, and nothing vnlawfull that is not vnprofitable, dasheth against this rock. For it bindeth and looseth, giueth and taketh away, inuesteth and againe deuesteth so it be for promotion and preferment: Diuorces without iust cause, and dispensations against diuine lawes are granted, in case the Grantee will pay well for the purchase.

Plurima omnia sunt venalia Nummis.

*Aurea nunc verè sunt secula plurimus auro /
Vixit honor, auro conciliatur amor.*

*Haud facile emergunt quorum virtutibus obstat
Res angusta domi: sed Roma durior illis
Conatus.*

*O effecrabil avaritia, o ingardo
Fame d'havere: so non mi meraviglio
Ch' ad alma vile, e d'altre macchie lorda,
Si facilmente dar possi di piglio.*

*Curis pauperibus clausa est, das sensus honores,
Inde gravis iudex, inde severus Eques.*

Quid satis est si Roma parum?

Vnde habeas quas nemo, sed oportet habere.

Quandoquidem inser nos, n. Roma) sanctissima divitiarum —

Vitem venalem si emptam inveneris.

*Cuidam in quiete ostensum — Innocentium quartum apud summum
Iudicem accusari, quod Ecclesiam convertisset in mensam nummulariorum.
Omne Papale negotium manus agnovi.*

*Hadrianus Pontifex, non modo magistratus & imperia, sed etiam sacer-
dota sub hastia venire passus est.*

Arist Rh. 1.3.
Ouid.

Iuven. Sat. 3.

Arlost. can. 34.

Ouid. am. 3.

Lucan. 1. 3.

Iuven. Sat. 14.

Iuven. Sat. 1.

Salut. Aug.

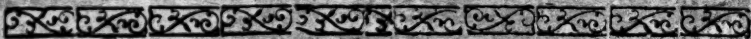
Mar. Paris.

Idein.

Bodin. 1. 6.

Pope Alexander hath promise from *Lewes 12.* that he will effect the marriage between *Cesar Borgia* and *Ciarlot-14.* daughter to *Fredericke* king of *Naples*, who was brought vp in the French Court. A match, to which both father and sonne vpon ambitious ends greedily aspired. Vpon this hope *Borgia* comes into the Consistory, makes sute to his father the Pope, and whole Colledge of Cardinals, that whereas he neuer had mind to any Ecclesiasticall function, he might be permitted to renounce his Hat and habit of Cardinallat. It is granted him. He puts on in their presence a Secular robe; and of a Cardinall and Archbithop of *Valencia*, becomes entitled Duke *Valentinois*, and souldier of the French king, with command of one hundred Lances, and twentie thousand Franckes of yecrely entertainment. Againe, the French king desires to be diuorced from his lawfull wife, the sister of *Charles 8.* (she was crook-backed) and to be dispensed withall for marrying of *Anne Duchesse* and heire of *Bretagne* (she had a great estate) The Sea of Rome grants both: provided that the King giue the Pope thirty thousand Duckats: helpe him to

recober the absolute dominion of Romagna : further the match betweene Borgia and Ciarlotta : and entertaine him with a ycarely and honourable pension.



APHORISME XXI.

E (1) that propounds an affaire to his inward friend, would be advised. He that imparts a resolved businesse, would haue it concealed. In the first case, the Counsellor must unlocke his heart: in the other he must seale up his lippes. (2) For it is dangerous to be of a great mans counsaile, and not to keepe it.

(1) Atque adeo quam non sint retagenda illa quæ Princeps vult esse secreta, in ipsis priscarum fabularum involucribus explicatum est : nam & Thamyris a Musis, & Tiresias a Pallade excocati sunt: Marsias ille hispidus & multibarbus ab Apolline excorsatus, & Lini temeritas morte punita.

Alexander, cum arcanas quasdam literas Haphestioni legisset, detractum digito anulum ori eius admonuit.

Philippide domandato da Lisimacho Re; qual maggior fauore gli potesse fare, perche cognoscesse quanto l'amaua: rispose, Che in non mi communicchi alcuno di tuoi segreti.

Principes non aliter videri volunt, quam qua forma sese aspiciendos præbent.

Non salti il Cuor fuor delle Labbre ignudo,
Che mal può ricoprir Elmo o Scudo.

Scire volumi secreta domus, atque inde timeri.

Gran silenzio è gran pondo a sostenerlo.

Consiliarij arcani esse debent, nec tamen arcanorum scrutatores.

Abditos Principis sensus, & si quid occultius parat exquirere, anceps periculosum.

(2) Digito compesce labellum :

Accusator erit qui verbum dixerit, hic est.

Tiberius ex viginti consiliariis vix duos aut tres incolumes præstitit.

Thrasyllum secretorum temerè conscium, in mare præcipitare destinat.

Qua suauissima & pulcherrima habent reges, ea conspectui sunt exposita : cæna, opes, beneficia: si verò arcani quid est, cane accesseris aut macueris.

Lingua fuit damno, lingua faciente loquaci,

Qui color albus erat, nunc est contrarius albo.

— Tanti tibi non sit opaci,

Omnis arena Tagi — vis à magno semper timearis amico.

Duke *Valentinois* is sent into *France* with a Cardinals hat, to *George* of *Amboise* Archbishop of *Rouen*. He follows his fathers principles of craft and subtiltie: for, hauing likewise brought with him a Bull of dispensation for the Kings marriage with the daughter and heire of *Bretagne*, he pretends to haue brought no such matter: hoping that the Kings desire to haue it, would worke him the sooner and better to his proper ends, rather than the memory thereof, when he had once got it. Onely the Bishop of *Septa*, the Popes Nuntio in *France*, knew the secret, and reueales it closely to the King. The King without any farther vrging to haue it (being as he thought all one towards God, since it was granted) presently consummates the marriage. *Valentinois* when he saw no other remedy, deliueres it, and shortly after causeth the Nuntio, by whom it came to light, to be poisoned.

APHORISME XXII.



Here is a law of Nature, another of Societie, a third of Armes, a fourth of Nations, a fifth of State. And each of these in their order bridle and-restraine one another with certaine cautions and prouisoies. For, though the arbitration of a third man betweene two parties in difference, either comes not within compasse of those former lawes, or else is permitted without limitation of circumstance, yet the law of State allowes it not, but with this restriction, Neuer to referre any matter of great importance to one much mightier than thy selfe; as doubtfull of his indifferencie, and fearefull of his greatnesse.

La Natural ragione dalla civile, & la civile dalla Militare. & quella dalla ragione delle Gentì, & questa da quella dello Stato, non scapè strasamente, ma con alcuni freni & risegni si confina.

In niuna cosa più si palesa quanto vaglia un Principe, che nelle proposte che gli si fanno: nelle quale se non si sta accorto, si possono pigliare grandissimi errori.

Se ha à pormente à colui, il quale propone ò consiglia alcuna cosa, se in quel consiglio si tratta del pericolo del proponente, ò del utilità & beneficio di colui à chi si propone.

Horat. ep. 1.

Adag.
Lam. de Se-
cretis.Tacit. hist. 2.
lib. 78.

Thucid. 1. 3.

Seneca in fine.

Tacit. lib. 1.

Am. in Tacit.
lib. 1.

Idem lib. 6.

Idem ibid.

sure unto thee, as one small request refused, to cast thee off.

(1) Facile invenias baculum quo canem cadas.

An non vides hunc anserem querere, rescindenda irritandaq; pactiois?
Secundis rebus labefactus, quam formidatus antea est, tam contemnitur.

Nunc quia contraxit vulsum fortuna, recedis,
Auxilio postquam scis opus esse tuo.

(2) Nullum est officium tam sanctum atque solenne, quod non avaritia
comminuere ac violare possit:

Ἡ ἐκπύρεται τὸ καὶ ποτὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον. Avaritia malorum caput.

Τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ τῇ σφύρῃ. Lucrum superat Sapientiam.

Avaritia, fidem, probitatem, cetera q; artes bonas subvertit: Et ambitio
multos mortales falsos fieri subegit.

— Pereunt discrimine nullo

Amisae leges, sed pars vilissima rerum

Certamen movisti opes. —

Pro-Lat.

Plaut.

Salust. hist. 1.

Ovid.

Cic. pro Quint.

Appollinar.

Pindar.

Salust. Cat.

Lucan. l. 3.

The King of Romans enters Burgundy in armes, in defence of his Sonnethe Archduke of Austria, against the French King. The Duke of Millan supplies him with great summes of money, vpon hope, that either that warre would diuert the French from the Enterprise of Italy, or else, if there were peace made betweene them, that then himselfe should be comprised, as the Emperor had faithfully promised him. After many motions and treaties, the King concludes a peace with the Archduke, who was likewise Duke of Burgundy, and capitulates to render him all the townes he held of his in Artois. The Emperor likewise takes a Truce with the King, for many moneths, without any comprisall of the Duke of Millan: pretending a great displeasure against him, because he had not from time to time satisfied his infinite and immoderate pressings for money.

APHORISME XXIII.



He (1.) name of Equalitie truly vnderstood, is one of the most iust and profitable things, that is in a State: namely, when it is taken in a Geometricall sense and proportion. For as in matter of tax or imposition, the best leuy is not by the pole, but according to every mans

mans ability ; and as in conferring of dignities and offices, the best choice is according to every mans worth and sufficiency for the place : So in the deliberation of State affaires, and decision of doubts of greatest consequence, the soundest iudgement should haue the greatest stroke : and voyces should be considered, not by the number, but by the weight. (2.) But in free States, plurality of voices ouerwayes the strongest and best grounded reasons. And therefore this forme of government cannot be so good, as that of a Monarchie.

Sympos. 1.8.
Lip. pol. 3. Test
Plut. Symp.
1.8.

Lin. bel. Ma.

Thucyd. 1.2.

Plut. de lib.
educ.

Seneca.

Plut. de virt.

Per. in Guic.
Art. Can. 38.

Thucyd. 1.1.

Perfius.

Hor. 2. ser. 2.

(1) Deum semper *numerantur*: inquit Palto.

Hic non tam appenduntur, quam numerantur sententia.

Lycurgus Arithmeticam proportionem, ut popularem & turba aptam, Lacedaemone eiecit: Geometricam verò ut paucorum modesto imperio, & legitimo regno conuenientem, introduxit: Quippe, illa numero aequali omnibus tribuit, hac ratione, cuique id quod meretur: Non sorte aut libra, sed discrimine virtutis, aut vitij.

Communem se relationem de ea re fieri non passuros, ne par honos in dispari merito esset.

Honores prout quisque aliquod sui specimen dederit: neque his quicquid certa parte ciuium sunt, potius quam ex virtute.

Talis talibus datur, talis talibus datur, i. Quod placet vulgo, sapientibus displicet.

Qua ego scio non probat Populus: Qua Populus probat, ego nescio.

Chorus eius maior est, meus melius concinit.

(2) Il popolo più si gouerna con la volontà, che con la ragione.

Il volgo ignorante ogni un riprende,

E parla più di quel, che meno intende.

Et quum in suffragijs danus omnes sint aequales, suo quisque commodo vacans, ex quo nihil perfecti effici suneit.

Nulla hominum species, & rerum discolor usus,

Velle suum cuique est, nec voto vinitur uno.

Tres mihi conuina propè dissentire videntur,

Poscentes vario multum diuersa palato.

The French King seeks the amity and confederation of the Venetians, in his warre against Millan. He offers them Cremona, and Ghiaradadda, for their share of the conquest. It is debated in Councell whether to combine with him, or no. Antony Grimany, a man of great authority among them, opineth for the affirmatiue: prooues the action to be lawfull, in reuenge of Zforzas ingratitude to this State, and obstinate opposition in the cause of Pisa, against it: prooues it honourable, because the world might see,

see that this Common-wealth aimes not at base and vulgar ends, but for the preservation of her honour and reputation : to be expedient, that the repentance of him who had wronged *Venice* so much, might be an example to others not to dare to prouoke her : to be profitable, by the accrewwment of two so faire Estates to the Venetian dominion, as *Cremona* and *Gbiaradadda* : to be necessary for the preuention of *Zforzas* plots and machinations against this State, in case the French expedition went not forward: to be easie, by reason of the combination of two so great powers, against one onely Duke: And finally to be without danger after the end of the warres, both by the generall resistance the king should finde in all the princes of *Italy*, (if he should attempt any further,) and by the naturall disposition of the French nation, a people apter to get, than to hold what they haue gotten. *Marchione Treuisano* a man of reputed vertue and iudgement, redargues what is said, and stands for the negatiue. His reasons : that it is imprudence, not to moderate reuenge (though vpon neuer so iust cause) with maturity of reason and consideration of the publike good : that it is scandalous for *Venice* to call in a forreigne Prince, who had lately professed her selfe *The deliuerer of Italy from the French* : that it is dangerous to haue a great King quietly possessed of *Millan*, being a State so neere their doores, when as hauing formerly but got *Naples*, remote from them and lesse to be feared, as also farther distant from *France*, and harder to be kept, yet *Venice* and almost al Christendome were forced through feare, to enter into confederation against him. To be vnprofitable ; for in time of warres they are neereft to be troubled, and in time of peace they must alwaies be suspitious, and stand vpon their Guard, maintaining their Frontires at excessiue charges: that it is preiudiciall to the State, for neither will the Duchie of *Millan* long suffer the alienation of two so faire members thereof, as *Cremona* and *Gbiaradadda*, neither will the Emperor and Dutch nation sit still, who pretend them to be parcells of the Imperiall Iurisdiction. And to be feared in conclusion, lest the French and Emperor ioyne both against them, holding so much land as they do already,

ready, belonging to the house of *Austria*. Therefore, it is neither wisdom, nor glory, nor profit, nor safety, to purchase the sweet fruits of revenge with the manifest hazard of the whole State : wherein they must either be masters of all, or losers of all : Which whether be more likely, he refers to the L L. of the Senate. This opinion maintained with these and other weighty reasons, and approved of the graver and wiser sort, was out-weighed by number, and the contrary carried by voices through hate and ambition.

APHORISME XXV.

Great (1) affaires require many heads to advise, and many hands to effect. One braine is not capable of so great a charge, one arme insufficient for so insupportable a burthen. (2) A Prince therefore ought not to stand so stiff in his owne opinion, though grounded upon probable supposition, as not to yeeld to his faithfull Counsaillers, upon more forcible and demonstratiue reasons. For, he that refuseth all counsaile, is worse then a beast : he that needeth none, is more then a man.

(1) Non est unius mens tantæ molis capax.

Magna negotia magnis adiutoribus egent.

(2) Consultor ille se tibi vir qui sapit,

— Sapientia enim consilia sapientia.

Triplex natura ingeniorum hominum: unum per se intelligit; alterum, quum fuerit ei demonstratum, peritum quod ne admonitum quidem, nedum per se id prestare potest. Primum illud maxime excellit: quod huic additur excellit quidem: ac quod tertium est prorsus inutile est.

Nemo fidelius dare potest consilium, quam qui id alteri suaderet, quod ipse si in eodem loco esset facturum fuerit.

Disputatur an prestabilior Princeps sapientissimus sine consilio, an stupidus prudentium Senatorum multitudine abundans. Sapientibus quidem neutrum horum probatur.

Palladem Ioni decumbenti assidere: Sc. Senatui Principi adesse oportere. Consulere, atque omnes mententem expendere casus.

Oportet

Perf. Sat. 5.

Salu de Tig.

Plut in Lac.
apophth. 229.

Mur. de Prin.

Lucy. d. 6.

Lip. p. 114.

Tac. hist. l. 1.

Velle. l. 12.

Comic. Græ.

Macc. princ.
cap. 22.

Salina. apud
Plutar.

Bodin. l. 3.

Idem fo. 303.
Vit. An. 12.

Oportet (Athenienses) cum qui boni aliquid facere nostrae civitati cupit, primum vestras aures sanare: corrupta enim sunt, adeo falsa & multa & quavis potius, quam optima audire consueverunt.

The Venetian Embassadors treat of a league with the French: there is no scruple but only this, *They will not referre the cause of Pisa to his Maiestie.* The King takes their diffidence in ill part. He doubteth if he haue not this Tie, both vpon them and the Florentines, that he shall be assured of neither. He inclines rather to make peace with the Emperour, which treatie was then on foot; and propounded, that the one should warre vpon *Millan*, and the other vpon *Venice*, at the same instant: He assures the Florentine Embassadors, that he will neuer conclude with *Venice*, vpon other conditions than he had already offered. But Duke *Valentino*, the Cardinall *S. Peter in Vincola*, and *Triulio*, with others of his Councell in this affaire, aduise the contrary, by effectually, well grounded, and demonstratiue reasons. They alleage that he ought not refuse the Venetians, for feare to lose the Florentines, because their power was greater in forces, and meanes fitter in needesse, to oppresse the Duke of *Millan*. Besides, this deliberation might cause the Duke to quit the Florentines, and combine with *Venice*, whose forces conioyned, late experience had shewed at *Taro*, what effects they might worke. And to lay any foundation of assurance vpon the Emperour *Maximilian*, were most dangerous of all. He had made good prooffe at his last being in *Italy*, that his designes are greater in the proiect, than either his prudence to colour them, or his meanes to carry them: and in case he should haue successe, it were deeply to be weighed, how dangerous such a greatnesse would be, in a professed and perpetuall enemie of the Crowne of *France*. The King perswaded with the weight of these reasons, alters his minde, takes the wiser way, and concludes with *Venice*, without any specification at all of the difference of *Pisa*.

APHORISME XXVI.



Hose (1) dangers are least avoided, which are unknowne or v unexpected : (2) And those counsels are best carried, which the enemy sees in execution, before he hears them by relation. None in the army must know to what service Scipio leads his troupes, but only C. Lælius : nor is it fit, things determined in Councell, should be communicated, but to those without whom they cannot be effected. For as Expedition is the life of Action : so is Secrecie of Deliberation.

(1) *Citius venit periculum, cum contemnisur.*

Inopinata magis premunt mala.

(2) *Anima consilij, Secretum.*

Metellus aliquid militis interrogatus, si inquit tunicam meam arcani mihi consciam scirem, exatam in ignem abjicerem.

Nam omnes nuntios palam audiri, omnia consilia cunctis presentibus trahari, ratio rerum aut occasionum velocitas patitur?

Primum, praeceptumque, eorum quae ad salicem exitum requiruntur, est filere.

Res periculi plena, in senatu decreta manare in vulgus.

Nemo omnium quod iretur, praeter C. Lælium sciebat.

Conso, quem faciebant consiliorum Deum, Atr sub terra: quia plane arcana debent esse & secretum consilium.

Antigonus, filio quem erat regni heredem habiturus, vocem arcanam non credidit: sed querenti quando castra essent moturi, Quid, inquit, metuis me solus tu non audias tubam?

Vestra clementia, revocatis ad interiora maioribus, ea disponit quae non sunt omnibus publicanda: de quibus adiuvare etiam soletis, ne quis autem rem completam, quicquam vel audiat, vel intelligat.

Si come delle frutte, altre sono che si mangiano la State, & altre che si serbon per il verno: così bisogna far delle cose segrete: scerve quelle che si posson dire, da quelle che infino a un certo tempo, s'hanno a tacere.

The league is concluded betweene the French king and the Venerians. The Articles these: They to assaile Milan on the one side, while the king warres on the other: And to have Cremona and Gbiaradadda with all their territories, for their share. The rest of the Duchie to remaine to the King, and twentie ells breadth along the riuer of Adda. To defend

Por. in Guic.

fac. disp. a.

acred. 13.

Seneca.

ng. 13.

Lip. pell. 5.

Plu. de. Grac.

13. Ca. 13.

Tacit. hist. 1.

er. Augu.

Tacit. an. 1. 3.

ogan. 13.

Bod. 1. 3.

Liui. de exp.

Scipionis.

Plut. in Rom.

Plu. de. Grac.

Capitol. ad

Dioclesian.

Am. de Secr.

send reciprocally and mutually the one the others part, and all the Terra ferma of Venice, euen to the marshes. This businelle is carried with such secrecie, as the Duke knew not of it for many moneths, nor yet the Pope, who held good correspondencie with the King. They supposed it had beene a confederation defensue onely, as at first it was solemnly proclaimed in the Court of France, and citie of Venice.

APHORISME XXVII

IT is a manly vertue in a Prince, and a Manlian aduice, to prepare for warre when he propounds for peace; and not to stay his prouisions for the one, though he be treating vpon conditions for the other. Because otherwise he seemes to beg or buy his peace, and gets it not but at a high rate. Wherefore peace is neuer to be treated with our armour off, or sword sheathed, nor to be concluded, but vnder a buckler, and vpon sure tearmes.

Ostendite modo bellum, pacem habebitis, videant vos paratos ad vim, ipsi emittent.

Media pace incauti circumueniuntur.

Pacem optatis magis quam defenditis. Pacem sub clypeo parare.

Iamais sage Prince, ny bon Capitain, ne fit la paix desarme.

Intempestiuo belligerandi studio deditos, nunquam nisi armatos pacem discernere.

— *Dices non esse ad bella fugaces*

Qui pacem potuere pati.

Silent leges inter arm; nec se expectari iubent, cum ei qui expectare velit, ante iusta poena luenda sit, quam iusta repetenda.

Nec cito perit ruinâ, qui ruinam timet. Semper enim metnendo sapiens vitat malum.

Crocodilus terribilis est in fugaces, fugax contra in sequentes: Ita quidam si concedas ac metas, cum ferociunt; si strenue contemnas & obsistas, statim concedunt.

The Venetian forces are much weakened in the Castine prouince. One thousand five hundred horse haue left the army at seuerall times; besides many foot. The Duke of Urbine, Aluiano, Astorre Bagliano, Marcello the Venetian treasurer, & Iulian Medici, are forced to abandon Montalone

Manl. apud Plutarch.

Tac. an. f. 231.

Salust. hist. 1.

Bod. rep. l. 5.

Demâdes de Athen. Plut.

Lucan. l. 10.

Cic. pro Mil.

Pontede fort.

Plin. l. 8. cap. 2.

Parut l. 3. d. f.

and *Vernia*, to important places, either for succours to come to them, or for their safe retreat in case of necessitie: they are retired into *Bibienna*, and there much distressed. The State of *Venice* is at this very instant in treaty with *Florence*, for a full and final composition of all differences between them. The award is referred to the Duke of *Ferrara*, both concerning the cause of *Pish*, as also all other their quarrels and demands. Yet for all this, though the peace be in so good forwardnesse, the Venetians foreflew not to prepare great supplies for their Casentine businesse, which they send vnder the leading of the Count *Pesigliano*, to the succours of those distressed troupes: not for any advancement of that service, but to haue better conditions in the accord.

APHORISME XXVIII.

IT (1) is hard for a man, so warily to walke in any condition of charge or service, as that he dash not his foot against the stone of offence: especially in that of command, where he must use his authoritie sparingly that would keep it long. (2) Wherefore that Generall which bindes not himselfe within the limits of his commission, nor vseth the aduice of his Councell of warre, shall neuer want secret enemies among these he hath neglected, to charge his transgression, and worke his confusion.

Lip. an. 3.
Sallust. Cat.
Commus. 1.1.

Tacit. an. 11.
Terent. Adel.

(1) *Tam est difficile in omni vitæ genere, stete gerere, ut ne impingas. Neque quisquam omnium libidini simul & usus parvis. Memini regem Ludovicum mecum sic loqui: ut diceret, fieri aliquando ut opera manus a laudabiliter minus pretium sit, idq. culpa eorum quæ manifestæ: dum elati quadam confidentia, insolenter & protervè se gererent. Potentia eam quàm acrioribus consilijs cunctis habetur. Sed Dama, hoc tu facito cum animo cogites, Quàm vos facillimè agitis, quàm estis maxime Potentes, dites, fortunati, nobiles, Tam maxime vos a quo animo aqua noscere Opores, si vos vultis perhiberi probos.*

(2) *Cicilias*

(2) *Civitas rimandis offensis sagax.*

*Il ny a rien si dangereux en une Armee, que quand un Chef entrepren-
dant se veut gouverner selon son sens, sans respecter ses compagnons.*

*Celuy qui se hausse trop, donne occasion à ceux qui s'estiment autant que
luy, de se liguer & chercher à quelque priu que se soit, les moyens de le ses-
ter par terre.*

*Non si può dar Precetto meglio, che di mozzar l'autorità d'un Genera-
le divenuto troppo potente & orgoloso.*

Paul Vitelli the Florentine Generall, who had borne that office with great reputation, and managed the warres with singular prudence and happy successe: having now the enemy cooped vp in Bibiena, growes daily more imperious in his command and dispatches, than was thought fit for his place, or was lawfull by his commission. He grants safe conduct to the Duke of Urbine being sicke, to depart into Romagna, without the consent or priuity of the Florentine Commissaries: vnder which protection Iulian Medici escaped also away. The State is perswaded, that Urbine would rather haue yeelded vp the place, with all his forces, than haue staid in that extremity of sicknesse: great offence is likewise taken, that Medici, a rebell to his country, had so escaped their hands. Many of the Citizens fauour the Generall, for his former good seruices, and some because they were his kinsmen. But the greater part, in affection to Rinuccio, their old and faithfull seruant and souldier, vrged his transgression. Rinuccio himselfe, who had commanded in chiefe, till his defeat at S. Regolo, and now not brooking a superior, as at first in enuy of Vitellies glory, he lacked to further his seruice in the Casentine businesse, so now in desire of reuenge, he helpeth to worke his destruction. This was the beginning of Vitellies fall.

APHORISME XXIX.

*Popular (1) States attribute good successe in
warre or peace, to their owne proper courage
and direction: what falleth out crosse, they
lay to the Generalls fault and imputation.
Against whom, no mans tongue seemeth
prompt enough, or mouth sufficiently wide,*

Tacit. hist. 4.

Am. Plat. Ag.

Am. Plat. Gr.

Rag. Stat.

Rag. Stat.

Rag. Stat.

Rag. Stat.

Rag. Stat.

Rag. Stat.

Rag. Stat.

Rag. Stat.

Rag. Stat.

Rag. Stat.

Rag. Stat.

Rag. Stat.

Rag. Stat.

Rag. Stat.

Rag. Stat.

Rag. Stat.

Rag. Stat.

Rag. Stat.

Rag. Stat.

Rag. Stat.

Rag. Stat.

Rag. Stat.

Rag. Stat.

Rag. Stat.

Rag. Stat.

Rag. Stat.

Rag. Stat.

Rag. Stat.

Rag. Stat.

Rag. Stat.

Rag. Stat.

Rag. Stat.

Rag. Stat.

Rag. Stat.

Rag. Stat.

Rag. Stat.

Rag. Stat.

Rag. Stat.

Rag. Stat.

Rag. Stat.

Rag. Stat.

Rag. Stat.

Rag. Stat.

to breathe out contumelious menaces. (2) Wherefore let him that standeth charged with so great an account, take heed that he make a good reckoning, and that his present actions wipe out all scores of former jealousies and surmises: for if he be once in suspect, and after tripe neuer so little, it is impossible to keepe him from falling.

Probus.
Sallust. Cat.

Tacit. Agric.

Tac. hi. l. 33.
Seneca Sent.
Mém. Qd. H.
Ammi. l. 21.

Tacit. an. l. 5.

Laberius.
Am. Plat. Gr.

Idem Ibid.

Demost.

(1) Casus tantum aduersos ducibus tribuant: secundos fortuna sua.
Ad reprehendenda aliena dicta & facta ardet omnibus animus, vix satis apertum os, aut lingua prompta videtur.

Iniquissima hac bellorum conditio est. prospera omnes sibi vendicant, aduersa uni imputantur.

Vulgi fingendi auidum.

Ad tristem partem streua est suspicio.

Quippe homines plarig sumas δυσνοει, i. suspiciosi.

Hinc inde commentum & nota ars ducum, hostem ducem in suspicionem apud suos adducere.

(2) Ad summum gradum cum claritas ueneris, confisles egre, & cum descendas, decides.

Cecidi ego: cades qui sequitur.

Ceux qui commencent a perdre leur credit en un estat, sont aisement desarconnez.

Le Peuple abandonne en necessite ceux qui se sont le plus employe pour eux.

Εν ᾧ τις παλαιῶς τι εἰς πολέμου θέλει καταλῦναι: i. Dissolutio utriusq.

Vitelli hath the enemy straightly begirt in Bibiena. He requires a supplie from Florence of foure thousand men, to carrie the place, driue the enemy quite out of the Casentine, and to make a finall end of that warre. The Citizens vpon former distaste of his proceedings, suspect his counsaile, and reiect his demand. And because there was of late and accidentally some peece of good seruice done, vpon the stragling and disordered enemy, by the countrey Peasants, without the presence of him, or assistance of his souldiers, the meacher sort of the city detract from his worth, and depraue all his actions: attributing the continuance of the warre to his want of fidelity, and desire he had to hold himselfe still great in that his command: laying that to his will which was not in his power to alter.

APHORISME XXX.



Very (1) man must haue credit in the art he professeth: but no power to perswade to a businesse which we call into deliberation, and may concerne his aduantage in particular. For the Architect and mason, whose workes will alwaies aduise vs to build, though we neither haue matter enough prepared, nor purse sufficiently lined for such a purpose; because it is for his proper employment and benefit. (2) So States must be aduised and ouersuled by the souldier, in the manage of a warre; but he seldome admitted to the deliberation of undertaking it.

(1) *Paucique in arte sua credendum.*

Namci agere iurata manu times, abstinent agro.

Non audet nisi qui didicit, dare; quod medicorum est.

Promittunt medici; tractant fabrilis fabri.

Ne Sutor ultra crepidam.

(2) *Pauci consuetudo, ut si de iure, aut de negotijs tractaret, solos doctos & doctores adhiberet: Si vero de re militaria, milites rudes & senes bene meritos, & locorum peritos, & bellorum ac castrorum.*

Periculosissimos Centurionum dissidentes, & si consulentes vere doctores, intimi amicorum Vitellij arcuere: ita formatis Principi equitum, ut obsequia qua vitia, &c.

Minime enim omnium bellum ex decretis procedis, sed ipsum ex se mutuat incrementa, & ut res sunt nata.

Consilium inueniunt multi, sed docti explicant.

Quinetiam in defendenda urbe, ministerio alienissimorum utuntur, sed consilio tamen intimorum.

The Count Perigliano comes with his Venetian troopes to Elci, a castle of the Duchie of Urbine, vpon the Florentine confines: here he meets Charles Orsini, and Peter Medici: for this place was appointed the Rendez-vous, of all their forces, which were to passe the Appennine, to the succours of the besieged in Bithens. He finds the mountaines loaden with snow, and the passages so narrow and dangerous, enen in more reasonable times and fauourable weather, as he thought it a dangerous resolution to venture through: and besides, he sees the enemy strong at the foot.

Artif.

Horat. ep. 3.

Adag.

Lamp. de Seno.

Tacit. hist. 3. fol. 76.

Thucid. 1. 1.

Senec. in fine.

Tacit. hist. 3.

foot of the hilles, to receiue him vpon great aduantage. He hath direction and peremptory commandement from the Senate at Venice to aduance forward, yet in regard of those military considerations, he holds it better to disobey the command, then to expose the whole army to an apparant ouerthrow. He stirres not a foot farther.

APHORISME XXXI.



N (1) Award betweene States in difference, is like Physicke ministred to a body, wherein is a hot liuer and a cold stomacke: what helpeth the one, commonly hurteth the other.

(2) So this seldome contenteth any of the parties, and often displeaseth all. Wherefore as these are carefull, that there be strict cautions and obligations for abiding the Award, so should be be wel aduised before be undertake the charge. For it is better to sit still, then be employed in a businesse where a man is in no hope of getting any thing to himselfe, but in danger of losing both his paines, and his friends.

(1) At qui in aequalem temperiem sunt sortiti ita et his aliud iecinis temperamentum sit, aliud ventris, aut alicuius eorum quia circa iecur sunt, ij; diuersum est quod assumptum iucundum est, ab eo quod cuique particula est idoneum.

(2) Neque veteranorum, neque possessorum gratiam tenuis: alteris pel-
lisse, alteris non pro spe meritorum tractari, querentibus.

Vnde Banius Atheniensis, quum controversiam inter Caydonios & Ele-
os) viri ad eius arbitrium deferrent, conueniens autem eis a manibus tem-
perarent, donec ille de negotio pronunciaisset, per fidas occasiones rem in lon-
gum disulis, nec unquam de lite voluit pronunciare.

In receptis arbitrijs nemo qui noluit obligatur.

Ne de pugna in alieno negotio.

Non negotium inter vos tamis componere lites.

The Duke of Ferrara is chosen by the States of Venice and Florence, to compromise betweene them in the cause of Pisa. He awardeth thus: The Florentines to pay the Venetians one hundred and eighty thousand Duckats (of the eight hundred thousand they auowed to haue spent in that

Gal.San. meth.
lib.6.

Suet. Octau.
sej.3.

Erast. Xen.

Bed. 13.

Adag. 38.

Virg. Egie.

that warre) in twelue yeares, by equall portions. The Venetians to call home all their forces from *Pisa* and *Bibienna*. The Pisans to be pardoned of all former offences, and to haue free liberty of trafficke, both by land and by sea. The fortresses of *Pisa*, and other places in that territory, which were in their possession at the day of this Award, so to remaine. To haue free choise of their garrison souldiers, so they were not persons suspect to the Florentines; and to be paid out of the Entrada or reuenue of *Pisa*. All the forts built by the Florentines in the Pisan territory during these warres, to stand or be razed, at the choise of the Pisans. The Pisans to elect their *Podestà* for ciuill causes. The Florentines to appoint the *Capitano* for guard of the Cittadell, and governing in causes criminall; but not to iudge in case of life, limme, or confiscation, without such Assessors as the Duke should appoint. All moucable goods to be restored: but the profits of them in this *interim* of the warres, not to be answerable, nor the partie accountable. In all other things, the right and iurisdiction ouer them, to remaine inuolable: and the Pisans enioyned to practise no new matter, in preiudice of the Florentines. The Award thus made, is of the greater part of the Venetians vtterly disliked, because it seemes to abandon the Pisans to their former seruitude. The Florentines repine to repay any part of that money which was so vniustly spent against them, and meerely vpon an ambitious end. And the Pisans they complaine that they are betrayed into the hands of the enemy, and bought and sold betweene them.

APHORISME XXXII.



He friendship of Princes is often persona^l; of free States neuer: for they, either vpon some friendly enter view, or intercourse of kinde letters, or enterchange of good turnes, or affinity of bloud, doe condole the losse, congratulate the successe, supply the

M m

wants,

Plin na Lib
Tat. lib. 20

Lucan 15

Sen. Thuc.

Senec. Sen.
Ambr. Lib. 1

Seneca Oed.

Sen. da Ben.

Tacit. Lib.

Wants, releue the distresses, and redresse the wrongs one of another, through some bond of bloud or affection. Whereas free States performe none of those good offices, but for their owne ends: and they that receiue them, are thankefull no longer then while they are in receiuing. For nothing is shorter liued among them then the memorie of benefitts. One ounce of supposed vnkindnesse ouer-weigheth a pound of former friendship. And, Not to continue to doe them good, is to begin to doe them wrong.

Porcin Guic.

Calphur.

Eralm.

Petrarch.

Plut. 541.

Adag. Tent.

Niuna cosa è più breue, niuna ha vita minore, che la memoria de benefizj.

Vilia quæcumque prioribus annis, & sordet quicquid spectauimus olim.

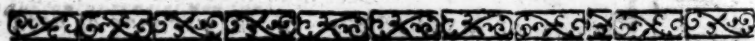
Sic Lyncei: clarissimè cernunt quæ ante oculos, sed obliuio illis rei ab oculis semota.

Firmior offensarum quàm beneficiorum, tenaciore memoria.

Tempestate aborta sub arborem hanc confugitis, inter digrediendum frondes eius fringitis. (Themistocles Atheniensibus.)

Si humeris quempiam in caelum subuexeris, & tandem minus molliter deposueris, infensiolem tibi ex hoc quàm conciliatorem ex alio fore.

The Pisans had reuolted from the Florentine obedience, and runne into manifest rebellion, without the encouragement or consent of Venice. This citie, in their greatest extremity vndertooke their protection: which howsoever it were vpon ends of her owne, yet was it an action of acceptable welcome to them, and meriting thankfulness at their hands. The necessitie of the times, and her present affaires, force her now at last to quit their defence: yet she leaues them in far better tearmes then she found them, or they without her could possibly haue hoped. This notwithstanding, they complaine of hard dealing, think themselues betrayed, and vpbraid her of iniustice: yea, and in greater despite vpon the fir ouerture of the Award, they discharge her garrisons from the Citradell, and her guards from the gates, as persons suspected, and hinderers of their libertie, and will not suffer them to stay one night in the citie.



APHO-

APHORISME XXXIII.



Man of noted credit, may passe with a lie, and
set a currant stampe upon such false coine.
But hee that is notorious for his perfidious
and double dealing, is alwayes obnoxious
to this one inuisible plague, Neuer
to be beleueed, though he tell the truth.

*Sape falsò plorat quis — vti mox
Nulla fides damnis verisq. doloribus adfit.
Non si crede al bugiardo, se dice il vero,
Si crede al verace, benchè bugia.*

*Vbi quis semel pei erarit, ei credi postea, etiam si per plures inret Deos, non
conuenit.*

*Qui ont rompu leur foy, leurs compagnons mesmes à la fin, ne se fient en
eux.*

*Tiberio raccomanda suoi Dipoti al Senato (Et questo facema da donero)
ma dicena ancora (sint amente) che volena render il gouerno della rep. Et
che i consoli o qualunque altro ne pigliasse la cura. Et con questi suoi modi
di sanellare, facema si, che le cose ch'egli dicena da donero quantunque hone-
ste, non gli erano credute.*

Mendax hoc dicitur, ut cum vera dixeris ei non credatur.

Nec semel irritus, triujs assollere curas

Fractò crure planum: licet illi plurima manet

Lachryma: per sanctum iuratus dicat Osyrim,

Credito: non ludo: crudelis tollite claudum:

Quare peregrinum, vicinia rauca reclamation.

The abandoned Pisans resolute to runne any fortune,
rather then yeeld themselves to the Florentines, whom
they had so highly offended. They of Genoa, Lucca, and Si-
ena, more apt to giue ill counsell, then able to yeeld any
good comfort, encourage them in this obstinacie. Onely
the Duke of Millan, contrary to his old wont, is become a
father of peace, perswades them to a submission: and vn-
dertakes to mediate a good end for them, with full remissi-
on of all former forfeitures. They will not hereunto be per-
swaded: but offer freely to him the tender of their obedi-
ence, and absolute soueraigntie of their citie and State. The

M m 2

Duke

Hor. ep. 1. 1. 1.

Pro. Ital.

Cic. pro C.
Rab.

Am. Plu. Ant.

Am. 2. Tacit.
hist. 1. 4.

Laert. 1. 5

Hor. 1. ep. 17.

Duke considers the condition of the times, the greatnesse of his enemies, with the nearnesse of his troubles, and refuseth the offer. The Florentines will by no meanes be perswaded but that he was the man that encouraged them to this contumacie and obstinatenesse, though he protested and swore the contrary.

APHORISME XXXIII.

E(1) that is a temporizer and deceiuer himselfe, bath not whereof to complaine, if he be deceiued in that kinde : and where is no iust cause of complaint, there is no true proofe of iniustice. (2) Wherefore, because States are many times ouerthrowne by fraud and deceit, they hold it lawfull to p̄serue them by the same meanes from a publike and professed enemy, and one that is a Master in the same facultie.

Perf. Sat. 5.

Salu. de Iug.

Plut. in Lac.
apophth. f. 129.

Mur. de Prin.

Thucyd. l. 6.

Lip. poll. 4.

Pro. Lat.

Adag. Græc.

Bod. rep. l. 5.

(1) — *Es fronte politus*

Astutam vapido seruas sub pectore vulpem.

Ipse longè aliter animo apitabat, tamen pro tempore benigne respondit.

Sic Lyxander versusus & pluraque fraude miscens, veritatem aiebat nihil meliorem esse mendacio : sed vtriusque dignitatem & precium vsu definiri. (Hoc autem perfidum nimis.)

Etiā qui ex illis (Principibus,) Rhetores non sunt, figuratè tamen loqui sciunt.

Solere in presentiarum, et rationis suauitate mulcere eos, à quibus suspiantur, in exequendo autem, ea postea agere quæ sibi conducant.

(2) *Per fraudem & dolum regna evertuntur : Quidni praferantur?*

Fallere fallentem non est fraus. Cresitare cum Cresensi.

Ἀπομυθεῖν οὐδὲν ἰσχυρὸν ἀδύνατον. Cum vulpe iunctam, pariter vulpinatier.

Si l'ondez ennemis soit départi de sa promesse, & a trompé l'autre, il n'a que plaindre, s'on luy rend la pareille : Mais pouruans, la perfidie ne se dois venger, ni repeter, apres qu'on a traité paix & accord ensemble.

The French King offers the State of Florence, to ioyne with her in the recovery of Pisa, so soone as he shall haue conquered Milan, if in this his warre she will aid him with
fiue

five hundred men at armes for a whole yeere. The Duke of *Millan* offers first to assist her with what forces she shall require, for the reducing of that Towne vnder her obedience, if after the seruice done she will be bound to his defence with three hundred men at armes, and two thousand foot. This State deliberates in Councell, which offer to accept. That of the King, was lesse certaine; this of the Duke, more present: Yet if the King had good successe in his warre against *Millan*, the danger was greater from him than the other. It is true, the Duke had stucke closest to them in their greatest extremitie, whereby he had incurred the hate of the Venerians, and brought them vpon his owne backe, in this dangerous combination with *France* against him; which in all reason of gratitude should moue their inclination to his demand: but so was it likewise as true, that he had beene the first brewer and broacher of the *Pisans* rebellion, which worthily cancelled the memory of that other benefit, or any pleasure else whatsoeuer, which he had or could doe them. They are fearfull to offend the King, and loth to distaste the Duke with a flat deniall. They therefore send him this cautelous and ambiguous answer, by a Secretary of State: That the intention of their Common-wealth is in effect the same with his, though there be some difference in the manner. For they were purposed, so soone as they had ended their owne warre against the Rebels of *Pisa*, to grant him the aid he demanded of them. But they hold it dangerous to make expresse couenant with him, or to capitulate by writing, or to vse his forces, lest they should prouoke the Pope, French King, and Venerians to impeach their proceedings against *Pisa*: and so both they and he be frustrate of their ends. But they bound themselves secretly and by writing, to the French King, in the contrary. The Duke findes this their answer full of cunning, as one well practised in that Art, and therefore assures himselfe of nothing lesse, than the friendship of *Florence*.

APHORISME XXXV.



Here is (1) nothing so dangerous in a great affaire, as Irresolution and Tergiversation : especially in that Prince, whose good fortunes are come to their last period, and his whole estate set upon one cast. But destruction decreed, cannot be resisted ; for (2) the object destined hereunto, loseth himself in the intricate maze of his owne perplexities, by un-doing what he hath done, to his owne undoing.

Por.in Guic.

Mac.disp.2.

Herod.19.

Virg.

Virg.Æn.2.

Virg.Gc.1.

Ario.Ca.27.

Incer.Auth.

Lucan l.9.

Senec.in fin.

(1) *A consigli celesti, non si può resistere.*

Multa accidunt ex fato ita urgente, ut his obviam ire nemo potest.

Quod divinitus contingere debet, homo à se nulla arte dissuadere potest.

Sors omnia versat.

Es si fata Deum, si meus non laus fuisset.

Haec equidem credo quia sis divinitus illis Ingenium, aut rerum fato prudentia maior.

Perche l'homme ne peut star ne per s'uggire, Al suo fisco destin può contradire.

(2) *Oculis vis fati tunc maximè urget, quàm misero mentis arbitrium eripis.*

Hoc places o Superi, cum vobis versere cuncta.

Proposuit, nostris erroribus addere crimen ;

Cladibus irruimus, nocturna poscimus arma.

Stultum facit fortuna quem vult perdere.

The Duke of Millan despaires of all hope but in himselfe and owne forces. All other Princes abandon him : onely the King of Naples is willing to helpe him, but vnable. He therefore takes the best courle he can in such an extremitie. He fortifies Anon, Nouara, and Alexandria della Paglia, (places first exposed to the French impression.) He resolues to dispose the greatest part of his army vnder Galeazzo da San-Senecino, to resist the French on that side the Duchie : the rest he disposeth vnder the Marquis of Mantoaes leading, to oppose against the Venetians on the other side. His forces thus prudently and prouidently diuided and disposed he ordereth otherwise, either through improvidence,

dence, distrust, or couetousnesse. He dissolues those regiments vnder the Marquis his charge, mouing many difficulties, refusing to pay him the remainder of his former entertainment, and demanding his oath, and vnusuall caution for his fidelitie. This he did to satisfie Galeazzo, who could not brooke the others precedencie in title. Hereby he left that side naked to the Venetian Army, and lost the seruice of so braue a souldier, and worthy Commander: whom he after fought by all meanes and mediation of friends, but could neuer win him till it was too late.

APHORISME XXXVI.



Plue (1) things are required in a Generall: Knowledge, Valour, Foresight, Authoritie, and Fortune. He that is not renowned for all, or most of these vertues, is not to be reputed fit for this charge: Nor can this glory be purchased but by practice and prooffe. For the greatest Fencer is not alwayes the best fighter, nor the fairest Tilter the ablest souldier; nor the greatest fauourite in Court, the fittest Commander in a campe. (2) That Prince therefore is ill aduised, who conferres this charge vpon his Minion, either for his Courtship, or what other respect, neglecting those more requisite and more noble properties.

(1) Boni Ducis requiruntur quinque, Scientia, Virtus, Prævidentia, Auctoritas, Fortuna.

Gl' huomini debbon esse tirati à gl' honori, per gradi, non per salti.

Non bisogna star solo ad esser nobile: Perche l'arte della guerra s'apprende, con lo star ne gl' esserciti, col veder il nemico in viso, & con venir seco alle mani: Non con esser nato de padri illustri. Et.

Dux sit in his castris senior, dum miles in illis.

Tu quis es qui tam magnifice? equeſne an ſagittarius? Nihil inquit horum, ſed qui ſciam hiſce omnibus imperare.

(2) Bisogna di valor ſegni più chiari.

Che por con leggiadria la Lancia in mano.

Conueni ad vn Principe hauer ſumma cura & agerienza nell' elezione de' capitani, che hanno à preporre à grandi impreſe: Conſiſſa coſa che, ſe queſti non faranno di natura & di coſtumi conformi à penſieri del Principe, in darno ſe gli daranno gl' ordini & le commiſſioni.

Lip. pol. l. 5. è
Cicer.

Amirat. l. 6.

Amirat. l. 17.

Lucan. l. 3.

Plut. Apop.
ſol. 27.

Aria Ca. 16.

Parut. l. 1. diſ.

Tac. hist. l. 3.

Idem ibid.

Am. è Tac. l. 4.
de Tiberio.

Lucan. l. 3.

Auf. fol. 92.

Vellei. l. 2.

Tiberius hortabatur Senatum, ut eligeret Proconsulem in bello contra Tacfarinatem, gnarum militia, corpore validum, et bello affecturum.

E' grandissimo errore nel dar i Carichi militari, non riguardar ad altro, oltre alla sola nobilità.

Talche egli non dava ufficio, o tirava a dignità cittadino alcuno, s'egli non era a bastanza cognosciuto, ch'egli lo meritasse.

Dix Bruto, Cato solus erit.

Non erunt honores unquam fortissimi muneris.

Neque enim quarendus erat quem legeret: sed legendus qui eminebat.

Galeazzo da San-Seuerino a gallant Courtier, the Duke of Millans chiefe fauourite, a faire runner at Tilt, and a gracefull man at armes, is made Generall of the Millanese army. He commands one thousand six hundred lances, one thousand five hundred light horse, ten thousand Italian foot, and five hundred Dutch. He hath direction to wait vpon the French army newly come into those parts, and consisting of one thousand six hundred men at armes, five thousand Swisse, foure thousand Gascoins, and feure thousand of other French foot. He hath commandement not to charge vpon the enemy in *Campagna rasa*, and bar-taile ranged; but only to succour *Anon*, *Nonara*, *Alexandria*, and those other places first exposed to danger, and to stand only vpon the defensue. He suffereth to be taken euen before his face, *Arazzo*, *Anon*, *Valenza*, *Bisignano*, *Castell-nouo*, *Ponte-corone*, and *Tortona*: all places of great strength and importance. Hee retires into *Alexandria* with one thousand two hundred men at armes, one thousand two hundred light horse, and three thousand foot. The French besiege him: whence after two dayes (without acquainting any man of command, saue only *Lucio Maluczzo*) he secretly and shamefully steales away, and abandons the place to the assailants. An action of indelible staine to his owne honour, and of eternall blemish to his masters wisdom, to conferrè a place of so great command, in so dangerous a time, vpon a person of so little worth.

APHO-

APHORISME XXXVII.

OF (1) all bad ingredients into the heart of man, there is none poisons it so much with the venome of treasonable thoughts, as that of disdain. (2) The Prince that sees this mischievous seede planted and growne amongst his capitaines in time of their employment, and seekes not to root it vp with a quick and sharpe hand, is in the high roade to his owne ruine.

(1) *Invidia regni etiam inter domesticos, infida omnia atque infesta facit.*

Dui interni Auolui, Sægno, & Dolor.

Vetera odere, non expectamus, odio suarum rerum mutari omnia student.

Heu heu, quam breuibz perennis ingentia casus!

Imperium tanto quantum sanguine, tanto

Sernatum, quod mille ducum peperere labores,

Quod tantis Romanis manus contexit annis,

Proditor vnus iners angusto tempore vertit.

(2) *Suadeo ut occurras huic malo: Nam nisi incipiens & nondum adultum melioribus consilijs flectatur, te q. rem. g. publ. cam possundabis.*

Dignum praestandi aperiet, ne ob eam rem gangrana ad brachium perueniat.

Fortioribus remedijs agendum: facillimumq. est cuilibet rei in ipso introitu obfistere.

Gravius est conterni quam statim percipi.

Mete top. tot. uen. n. ou. i. a. x. i. n. i. s. Post bellum auxilium: Dicitur quando serius adhibet ut remedium.

Courte Gaiazzo commands this Dukes forces in Gbiara-dadda, against the Venetians: he spleenes that Galeazzo his younger brother and a worse souldier, is preferred before him to be Generall. Transportted with this passion of disdainne, he deales secretly with the French, bargaines to betray the seruice in his charge, and to become the Kings pensioner. The Duke hath notice of the practice: tells the intelligencer sighing that he could not be perswaded of so disloyall and vngatefull a part in Gaiazzo: and if it were true, he knew not how to remedy it, nor in whom to affie, if such as were most obliged to him, went about to betray him. He holds it no lesse dangerous, to lose the seruice

N n

of

Ljui. l. i.

Tall Ca. 20.

Salust.

Claud. ruffa.

Cic. Phil. 5.

Varro. Frag.

Poly. l. 3. 79.

Seneca.

Adag. Eras.

Flor. l. 4. c. 4.

Plin. in Lac.

Cic. l. i.

Cic. l. i.

Cic. l. i.

Cic. l. i.

Cic. l. i.

Cic. l. i.

Cic. l. i.

Cic. l. i.

Cic. l. i.

Cic. l. i.

Cic. l. i.

Cic. l. i.

of such as he accounted faithfull, by suspicion; then to commit himselfe to their credits who might be suspected, by cruell proceeding. He lets the matter so passe. Galeazzo goes on with his practice: he is commanded to passe the Po with his forces, and to ioyne with his brother against the French, who were now encamped before Alexandria. He cunningly delayes the time in making his bridge and passage ouer the riuier; meane while Galeazzo forsakes the towne. The enemy takes it: all the rest of the Duchie follow the example of this place, and fortune of the victor. The Duke with his sonnes, brethren, and some few friends, is forced presently after to flee into Germanie.

APHORISME XXXVIII.



Hen (1) a Prince beginneth once to be hated of his subiects, and in declination of his fortunes, he is well or ill that he doth, all is ill taken: (2) For reformatiōs are no remedies, except they be in season; as Physick ministred out of due time, rather poisoneth than preserveth the bodie.

Am. in. Tac.
an. 117.

Sen. Her. fur.

Tacit. hist. 1.

Sen. in fine.

Menander.

Ouid.

Plaut.

Adag.

Menander.

Quid. remed.

(1) Come il Principe ha cominciato una volta ad esser odiato, è bene o male che è si faccia, ogni cosa è mal faria.

Vidi cruentos carcere tuclidi Duces,
Et impotentia terga plebeia manu
Scindi Tyranni.

Viraque cades sinistrè accepta: Et inuiso semel Principe, seu bene seu male facta premunt.

Ni gradus seruetur, nulli tunc est summus locus.

(2) Annona tupe pax, iniqua domi, Omnia tempestine gratiam habent.
Opprime dum nona sunt subiti mala semina morbi.
Sed aque stultè, quod prius tantum oportuit, postquam comedit rem,
post rationem putat.

Sed à supinis Phrygos.

Temporibus medicina valet, data tempore profunt,
Et data non apto tempore vana nocent.

The Duke of Milan had ill ordered his affaires of war, by entrusting the chiefe places of charge & command to persons

persons either vnable for the vndertaking, or vnfaithfull in the execution. He had also ill reigled his ciuill gouernment, by bringing his name in hatred, and his rule in dislike among his subiects, through his many and heauy taxations imposed vpon them. The most of his best townes and places of strength are taken by the enemy: others yeelded by reuolt. He now (though too late) seekes to confirme his chiefe citie of *Millan* in her obedience, and to stay her from the like reuolt. To this end he calls a public assembly: he enrolls all the men able to beare armes: he makes a lamentable and passionate oration to them, to re-assure their loyaltie to him: he frees them of many impositions: executeth his former proceedings by the necessities of the times: promiserh many moe immunities and exemptions from other general griuances: with full amends for all that is past, and reformation of all that is amisse. All wil not serue. The *Millaneses* strue with the other townes, who shall first yeeld to the French obedience: they rise in armes: they kill *Landriano* the high Treasurer in the midst of the streets, comming from the Court: they force the Duke himselfe to flee into the Castle for his safetie: and run into manifest reuolt and open rebellion.

APHORISME XXXIX.



Reatures (1) are cherished onely for the vse we haue of them: when the lade can worke no longer, we take his skin; when the Silke-worme hath wouen her web, we let her flie or die. As people deale with brute beasts, so deale Princes with that brutish and beastly sort of people, that betray their Prince or countrey to them: they cherish them but for their ends; they loue the treason, but not the traitor: (2) whose surest and foremost scourge is his owne conscience.

(1) Εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν οὐκ ἀνέβη, ἀλλὰ ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐκείνης ἐκείνη. *Proditiōes, non proditores amo.*

Amo proditores, non proditores.

Rem amanti, non remis.

N. 2

Ze

Plut de Phil.

Stob. de eod.

Lip. pol. l. 4.

Am. Tac. hist.
l. 4. de Tiber.

Liui. l. 5.

Flo. l. 1.

Am in Tacit.
an. lib. 13.

Bod. rep. l. 5.
è Plutarch.

Am. Plu. Art.

Sen. in fine.

Ibid.

Plut. de. his
qui serò pun.

Plut. ibid.

Por. in Guic.

Le più volte, come s'egli s'era seruito dell' opera loro à bastanza e sazio, in luogo di quelli, messo in opra de gl'altri, usava egli stesso di spegnere quei vecchi, & perniciosi, et di già venuti al colmo.

Camillus puertis virgas dedit, quibus proditorem agerent in urbem. Sic virginem, qua Sabinis Roma portus prodidit: dum pretium rei petis, illi ipsi elipais obruebant.

Gl' effecutori delle sceleratezze di molta importanza, sono da' Principi risguardati, come se tali seruigi gl'improuerassero.

Les Lacedemoniens condamnerent leur Capitain Phabidas, d'auoir empiete la Cadmee, contre la Tenenr du Traitté fait avec les Thebains, & néanmoins ils retendirent la place.

Quando ceux qui aiment les Trahisons ne se peuent plus seruir des Traistres, ils en tiennent peu de conte: Ce que met les Traistres en desespoir, dont s'ensuit l'honteuse mort, qu'ils ont bien merité.

(2) Illo nocens se damnat quo peccatus die.

Hæu conscientia, animi grâus seruatus.

Et primum quæ improbi egit, iam obstrictus pœna tenetur, & suauitate flagitij veluti esca illico deuorata, conscientiam intra vrgentem plectentemq. habens, fluctuat.

Sicut malefici cum ad supplicium educuntur, quisque suam effere crucem, sic vitiositas ex sese fabricatur singula tormenta.

La coscienza è potentissimo & certissimo flagello di chi fa male.

Barnardino da Corte a Pauze, and an old seruitor of the Duke, by him greatly aduanced, is put in trust by his Master with the keeping of the impregnable castle of Millan, before Ascanio the Dukes owne brother, who offered to vndertake the charge. At his departing from the citie, he leaues with him three thousand soldiers vnder trustie Captaines; with prouision of victuals, munition, and mony, for many moneths; hoping ere long to returne out of Germany with great succours. This Castellain not enduring one shot of the Cannon, or any appearance of danger, sels the place within twelue daies after the Duke was gone, for a great summe of money: a conduct of one hundred lances, and a pension for life: besides many other fauours and priuiledges. An act so infamous and hateful, as euen the French themselues to whom he betraid it, abhorred him and shunned his company & fellowship, as if he had bin some venomous serpent. In so much as playing at cards, they wold call for Barnardino da Corte, when they were to pul for a traitor, (a sort in their pack, as Knaues are in ours) to his perpetual reproach. With the shame hereof, and sting of a guilty conscience, he was so tormented, as within few daies he languished and died.

APHO-

APHORISME XL.

Lightning (1) hurts not the Lawrell, nor is
 leene in places far North and remote from
 the Sunne : (2) no more is a peaceable and
 meane estate subiect to the force of Fortune,
 or danger of higher Powers. For, the tall
 Cedars on the mountaines top are shaken
 and ouer-turned with tempest, when the low shrubs of the valley
 are in quiet. So likewise, the meaneſt estate ſtands vpon Braſſe,
 the higheſt vpon Glaſſe : The way vppward is craggie, down-
 ward, icie : Men climbe by degrees, but fall at once. (3) Be-
 twene the higheſt fortune and loweſt there is no ſtay.

(1) *Laurus fulmine ſola non icitur.*

*Omnis terrarum exhalatio rigens ac gelida, quicquid accipit ignei va-
 poris extinguit : quæ ratio immuniti Scythiam & circa rigentia, a fulmi-
 num caſu preſtat.*

(2) *Qui iacet in terra, non habet unde cadas.*

Paupertas ſumma eſt felicitas, ſtatum enim non metuit.

Ex mediocritate fortuna pauciora pericula.

Humilis loco, ſed certa ſedet.

Sordida parua fortuna domus :

Alie virtus animoſa cadit.

— O viſa tanta facultas,

Pauperis, anguſtiq; lares, o munera nondum

Intellecta deum : quibus hoc contingere templis

Aut potuit muris, nullo trepidare tumulto.

— Cæſarea pulſantia manu ?

Fortuna ſeuo lata negotio, &

Ludum inſolentem ludere pertinax.

Dum excelfus ſteti.

Nunquam pauere deſtiti.

(3) *Fortuna lenis eſt, cito repoſcit quæ dedit.*

*Regum maieſtas diſſiliſſima, ab ſummo ad medium detrahitur, quàm à
 medijs ad ima præcipitatur. (inquit Tacitus.) I Re per la loro grandezza
 non ſono ſi facili à cadere comes Priuati : Ma, ſe punto cominciarno à
 ſarucciolare, non hanno riparo.*

Sic nubibus ipſis incerta caput

Turris pluuiæ vapulat auſtro.

*Non enim his gradibus quibus ad ſumma peruenimus eſt, ita : ſape inter
 fortunam maximam & vltimam nihil intereſt.*

Impetium cupientibus nihil medium inter præcipitia & ſumma.

Plin. na. l. 15.

Plin. l. 1. c. 10.

Ouid.

Seneca.

Tacit. an. 14.

Seneca.

Lucan. l. 5.

Horat.

Sen. Thieſt.

Senec. Sent.
 Am. in Tacit.

Seneca Oed.

Sen. de Ben.

Tac. hiſt. l. 1.

Si quosdam tentabis regni concussiones efficere, nusquam aliunde prius incipe, quam ab eo qui ex eodem loco natus est.

Exercitum contractum ex diversissimis gentibus, ut secunda res tenent, ita adversa dissolunt.

Sic Carthaginienses per milites conductos extraneos, Hispanos alios, alios Gallos, Gracos, profugosq. & servos, in extremum fere discrimen devenere.

Paul Vitelli encampeth before Casina, a place well manned, and provided of all warlike habillements to hold out a long siege: well fortified with ditch, bulwarkes, and rampart. Yet within twentie six houres, after the cannon began to play, the stranger souldiers within; being the stronger part, yeeld vp the towne (maugre the rest) with condition of their liues and goods saued: and leaue the Pisan officers and souldiers to the discretion of the enemye.

APHORISME XLII.



ALL things requisite for a worthy Generall, are in himselfe; either by nature, precept, or experience; save onely Fortune, which crowneth his other vertues with the wreath of glory. For, to be fortunate is not in our selves, we haue it from aboue. And therefore Knowledge, Valour, Foresight, and Authority, lead on the Van-guard of their actions with small successe, except Fortune bring up the Reare.

Θεός δ' ἄνευ ἧς, ἐν τῷ αἰὲν ἀγαθός. Dei donum est felicitas.

Felicitas, comes fere semper consilij est & rationis: Sed tamen paulo benignius quibusdam attributa à Deo.

Assai ben balla à chi fortuna suona.

Ars militaris plurimum fortuna eget.

Muriq. vicem Fortuna tuetur.

Fortuna anco più bisogna assai, che senza, vil virtù raro, à mai.

Fortuna plus homini quam consilium valet.

Multa quæ provideri non possunt, fortuito in melius casura.

Consilium cui impar erat, fato permissum.

Inde Octavianus nepos: suo precatus, gravitatem Pompei fortitudinem Caesaris, fortunam suam.

Xen. Cyr. l. 8.

Tacit Agric.

Poly. hist. 1.
fol. 32.

Thucyd.

Lip. pol. 4.

Pro Ital.

Plato. de La.

Lucan l. 10.

Artist. Ca. 6.

Senec. Sent.

Tacit. an. 3.

Tacit. an. 6.

Julian. Cæsa.
fol. 89.

Vitelli

Vitelli had taken in all the *Pisan* territory, saue onely the fort *Verrucola*, and the small tower of *Ascano*, not worth the time and expence of a siege. Hee sets downe with his army before *Pisa* it selfe: he lieth on the southwest side of the city, rather than on the part towards *Lucca*, because, either he thought the expugnation more easie, if he could carry the fortresse *Stampace*, which was on this quarter: or for better conueying of victuals to the campe from the hillie country thereabouts: or hoping to finde that part weakest, by reason the *Pisans* expected and prepared for him on the other side, as he had his first direction from *Florence*. He plants his artillery: batters with twenty peeces of canon: makes a large breach betweene *Stampace* and *Port S. Antonio*: another betweene that and the Sea-port: and diuers others in other places, so that in all there was beaten downe one hundred and fiftie fathome of wall. Meane while he discouers, that they within had strongly entrenched and fortified against him, and had all their forces ranged in good order of battell to receiue him, if hee should giue the assault. He wisely considers the danger, and holds fit, first to carry *Stampace*, that from thence his Artillery might beat them in flanke; and then, with lesse danger and more hope to giue vpon them. He therefore bends the canon vpon this peece: plies the battery all that day and the next night: and by breake of day in the next morning, giues the assault, and carries it. The defendants within the inner workes seeing this, berake themselues to flight: they of the campe come brauely on, (but without command) in hope of the spoile. *Vitelli* not knowing the aduantage, and resoluing to make the assault yet more easie, not only not leads them on to the trenches, where they had found no resistance, (for the *Pisans* had quit their inner workes) but sounds a retreat and unfortunately calls them backe, hoping to carry the towne with better assurance, and more safety of his souldiers. The *Pisans* are staied in their flight, and brought backe to their trenches, which they after made good: and *Vitelli* within few dayes is forced to raise his siege, by reason of great infection and mortalitie in his campe. And so, that day which should haue

haue beene victorious to his immortall honour, was the originall of his calamitie and vtter destruction: for he was shortly after vpon this and other offences laid to his charge, executed in Florence.

APHORISME XLIII.



IT is a hinderance to the generall seruice, and a furtherance to the Generals destruction, to giue him manifest cause of discontent, and yet after employ him in a great place of charge. For, neither can the State be assured of his fidelitie, when he is vsed; nor he of their fauour, when he is accused.

Providendum, ne cini qui insigni aliqua iniuria affectus est, demandetur prouincia administrandi rem aliquam magni momenti.

Ὅποιος ἐμπροθύς, καὶ ποδὶς δούλην μαχόμενος, ἔμοχθη δὲ δούλην. Ἰ. Τὰς ἐστὶν περικυλῶδες, μαλίσσιν οὐρανίαν, καὶ μαλίσσιν οὐρανίαν. Ταὺς ἐστὶν περικυλῶδες, μαλίσσιν οὐρανίαν, καὶ μαλίσσιν οὐρανίαν.

Animos verò eorum qui iniuriam passi sunt, nondum didicisti, quos metus sceleratis injiciunt, quas ultrices affectiones in ne farios immitunt.

Tanta in e regione ciue vindicta cupiditas, ut facile intelligamus, quid de nostris hominibus sperare aut expectare debeamus, si quando magna iniuria afficiantur.

Neque enim cuiquam mortalium iniuria sua parua videntur, multi eas grauius, a quo habere.

Ad motum comprimendum, exercitum ampliore, & non instrumto Duce, cui tamen tutò tantares committeretur, opus esse.

Traditos fascēs, regio quodam furore retinebam.

Gladium dedisti quo se occideret.

The State of Florence had much discontented Paul Vitelli, by fauouring Count Rinuccio in his concurrence with him for the Generalate: by their slackenesse to send him necessary supplies in their Casentine affaires: by crossing him in matters of his owne particular: and by their suspicious ieaousie of his truth and fidelitie towards them in his seruice. Yet for all this they gaue him chiefe command in their warres vpon Pisa. Whence being risen and gone to Ligorne, they send commissioners vnto him, vnder pretence to aduise with him about the quartering of all his

Oo

troopes

Macc. dif. l. i.

Æschin.

Xenop. Cyr.
ad filios.Macc. dif. 4. de.
Claudio.

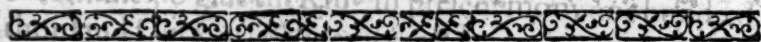
Salust. Cat.

Suet. in Vesp.

Flor. l. i.

Adag.

troopes in garrison, for the winter following. By them he is arrested: brought to *Florence*: committed to prison: and charged with the miscarriage of the siege of *Pisa*: enforcing, that by his fault when *Stampace* was won, the assault was not presently giuen, and the towne taken: that he had diuers times conference with them of *Pisa*, and neuer acquainted their Commissaries for the warre with the particular: that he had raised the siege without the States commandement: that he had secretly dealt with diuers Captaines, to keepe still in their hands *Casina* and *Vico-pisano*, with all the munition therein, that in their payments or other demands they might force the Florentines to what conditions they list: that in the *Casentino* he had had secret intelligence and correspondencie with the rebell *Medici*: and that at the same time he had treated and concluded with the Venetians to be entertained in their pay, had not the sodaine accord betweene those two States preuented him; and that hereupon he gaue safe conduct to the Duke of *Urbine* their enemy, and to *Iulian Medici* their proscrip. Mens opinions were diuers concerning his guiltinesse in these articles. But howsoeuer, he is condemned vpon them, not hauing confessed any matter capitall: and is presently put to death, without further triall or examination of witnesses; lest the French King, who was then at *Millan*, should haue demanded the life of so great a soldier, which they durst not haue refused him.



APHORISME XLIIII.



Vhen (1) we are unable to hold in safetie any thing which is deare vnto vs; the more another desires the safe-keeping of it, and the more he pretends it for our good, the more cautelous and scrupulous we should be of entrusting him therewith, lest it be for his owne particular end. (2) For it is vn safe to commit the Lambe to the Wolfes guardiance: and as dangerous it is to put the childe that pretends a iust title, into his hands that hath the possession.

(1) *Nimium*

(1) *Nimium difficile est reperiri amicum, ita ut nomen clues: quoniam cum rem credideris, sine omni cura dormias.*

Omissa spe fallaci authore, te ipsum tuam omnia cognita permiste fidei.

Paucis credas, nec nisi his, quorum longo usu cognita tibi fides.

Σάφην & δ' ἀνάλιν οὐκ ἔστιν ἀλλοῦν ἡγεμονίας ἔχοντι. Sapiente diffidentia non alia res utilior mortalibus.

(2) *O praeclaram custodem omnium (ut aiunt) Lupum.*

Sic Gestiui Rustium puerum una cum pecunia apud se depositum, interfecit.

Sic Antonius, regem Armeniorum specie amicitia illectum, dein catenis oneratum, postremo interfecit.

Eheu quid voluisti fieri mihi? floribus Austrum

Perditum & liquidis immisi fontibus apros.

Sic Polydorum auri quondam cum pondere magno

Infelix Priamus furtim mandarat alendam

Threicio regi. — Polydorum obtruncat, & auro

Es potitur. —

Isabella d' Arragon, mother to yong Galeazzo, who was sonne and heire to Iohn Galeazzo Duke of Millan, hath her sonne in her owne custodie, after the death of his poisoned father. His vnkle Lodowicke, vpon his flight into Germanie, desires his mother that she will commit him to his careful charge, to be conueyed out of that State, and kept safe from the hands of the French, the common enemy. The Ladie wisely refuseth, and keeps him still with her. Lewes 12. hath now conquered Millan, and is returning home: he perswades the Lady with many flattering speeches, to entrust the youth to his carefull custodie. The improvident and credulous woman simply yeeldeth. The King carries him into France, and shuts him vp in a Monastery.

APHORISME XLV.



(1) State lately lost by the crueltie and oppression of the Prince, being newly conquered, is preserved by the contrary meanes, and better kept by love than by force. (2) The victor Prince must thinke that he is as well the States, as the State his: (3) And therefore he ought be well aduised, not onely how he governe himselfe among these new subiects, but also in his absence what gouernour he

Plaut.

Lip. pol. l. 5.

Ibid.
Euripid.

Cicero.

Plut. in paral.

Tacit. ann.

Virg. eclo. 2.

Virg. Aen. 3.

substitute to keepe them in obedience : lest what he got by the ounce, he lose by the pound; and with more dishonour in the deprivation, then he had glory by the purchase.

Rag. Stat. 1.2

Tacit. hist. 4.

Sen. de Ben.

Tac. de Mith.

Xen. Cyr. 1.8.

Salust. Jug.

Liui. 1.10.

Sen. de cle.

Claudian. ad
Honorium.

Tac. hist. 1.4.

Lucan. 1.2.

Idem.

AuLdeClau.

Tac. de Tib.
an. 4.

Plin. Paneg.

Suet. Tiber.

Am. in. Tacit.
1.4.

Rag. Stat. 1.1.

Tacit. de Tib.

Am. Plut. Agis.

(1) Si come le cose naturali, si conseruano con quei mezzi, co' quali si sono generate : così le cause della conseruatione de gli Stati, sono l'istesse.

Nouum imperium inchoantibus utilis clementia fama,

Melius beneficijs imperium custoditur, quam armis.

Atrocior quam nouo regno conduceres.

Non aureum hoc sceptrum regnum seruat, sed amici multi sceptrum regibus verissimum maximèq. securum.

Non enim exercitus neque thesauri praesidia regis sunt, verum amici.

(2) *Illud clarum testatumq. est, quod homines felicitatem adsequantur, benignitate in alios, & bona de se opinione : ydem cum adepti quæ uoluerant, ad iniurias & impotentiam in imperijs dilabuntur, sit meritisimò, ut una cum imperantium mutatione, ipsi quoque subditi se & affectus suos mutant.*

Cinium non seruitus tibi tradita, sed tutela : Nec resp. sam tua est, quam tu resp.

Tu ciuem patremq. geras, tu consule cunctis,

Non tibi : Nec tua te moneant sed publica damna.

Crebra est modica damna, famam parie uictoria lacerant.

— Patriaq. impendere uitam,

Nec sibi, sed toti genitum se credere mundo.

— Urbi pater est, urbiq. maritus,

Iusticia cultor, rigidi seruator honesti,

In commune bonus — &c.

(3) *Non faciendo nocens, sed patiendo fuit.*

Ne Provincia nouis oneribus turbarentur, utq. uetera sine auaritia aut crudelitate magistratum tolerarent, prouidebat.

Quibus Ararium est Spoliarium cinium, cruentarumq. pradarum receptaculum.

Tondere pecus decet, non deglobere.

I Signori, chi hanno trouato modo d'accressergli il Peculio regio. guadagnano a uincite, & per dono a libbre.

I Popoli aggrauati sopra le lor forze, ò disersano il Paese, ò si rimouitano contra il lor Prencipe, ò si danno a' nemici.

Hanema l'occhio che le Provincie di noue grauezze non fossero oppresse, & le vecchie potessero tolerarsi, senza che da' Gouvernatori loro fosse l'auarizia ò l'ambizione, ò crudeltà, in parte alcuna usata.

Quand'un meschant homme gouerne les affaires d'un Estat il ne faut attendre que d'exactions & ruine du peuple. Mais luy de sapars, au lieu de s'amender, fortifie sa tyrannie, mesprise les maistres, & contraint tout le monde de chercher remede.

Lewes 12. returns to France without good order given, for the establisshing and perfect settling of his new Government.

ment in Millan. He leaues *Triultio* Gouvernour generall of the whole Duchie: a Millanele by birth, a professed enemy to *Lodowick Zforza*, and head of the *Guelph* party. The citizens are distasted with the insolent behaviour of the French nation: they grudge that they are not disburdened of all late impositions: but most of all they repine (especially thole of the *Ghibelline Faction*,) at the government of *Triultio*: whose carriage is imperious, factious, and full of oppression: too partiall to those of his owne party, and preiudicate to thole of the other: hee kills certaine butchers in the market place with his owne hand, for denying to pay the Gabell imposed vpon flesh. Hereupon the greater part of the Nobility, and all the Commons in generall, are incensed against him: are weary of the present government: wish the returne of *Lodowick*, and sticke not in publike to call vpon his name.

APHORISME XLVI.

Elerity, besides the inward vertue and actiue life it hath in it selfe, hath also the outward assistance of Fortune: upon which she more willingly and frequently attendeth, then vpon cold and considerate consultation. Wherefore an action once resolved must be put in present execution: because nothing more aduanceth the affaire, then expedition.

Moxe fulminis, quod uno eodemq. momento venit, percussit, abscessit: nec vana ac se predicatio est Caesaris, ante victum esse hostem quam casum.

Caesar cum Pharnacem superasset, ad amicos scripsit, addebat, addidit, eximio.

Facto, non consilio in tali periculo opus esse: Maximum bonum in celeritate putabat.

Hanc laudem imprimis attribuerunt, Alexandre Cursus, Caesaris Suetonius.

*Arma fressoloso & con la spene
Giala vittoria usurpa, & la preuenne.*

Adhuc non erat tempus, ut de quaerenda victoria cogitaretur: sed tempus, ut de ea cogitaretur. Agendi tempus in apparatu consumimus: rerum autem occasiones non expectant ignauiam vestram & tarditatem.

Flor. l. 4. c. 4.

Plut. in Lac.
apoph.
Sal Cat. de
Cethego.
Lip. an. 2.

Tasso. can. 17.

Demio. Phil.

Pergit

Tac. an. 6. de
Artabano.

Tacit. hist. 1.

Liui. de Ma.

Augu. de Ti.
apud Crisp.

Pergit properus, & praeueniens inimicorum astus, amicorum penitentiam.

Nullus cunctationi locus est in eo consilio, quod non potest laudari nisi per actum.

Ita impetere rem agente, ut ducem abesse nec cives nec hostes sentirent.
O miserum pop. Rom. qui sub tam lentis maxillis edit.

Lodowick Zforza and his brother Ascanio haue intelligence from Millan into Germany, that thole citizens dislike of the French gouernment, and the carriage of Triultio and that they are ready to receiue him againe, if he could finde the meanes to returne with any power. Vpon this sudden and welcome newes, hee will not expect the Emperours delayed succours : hee speedily raiseth eight thousand Swisse, and three hundred men at armes, Burgognians : he commeth before Millan, and repossesseth himseife of that city, before Iuo d' Allegri can come with his troopes to the succours of Triultio, hauing a march no farther than from Romagna, where he was at that time in the Popes seruice. Whereas, if Zforza had not preuented him with such incredible speed, all his hopes had beene frustrate, and no possible meanes left of recouering (nay scarce of tooting) in that Dukedome.

APHORISME XLVII.



Hough (1) it be true, that the Statesmen as the Steeresman, may shape his course according to the wind and weather of present occurrences, that he may arriue to the harbrough of safety ; sailing besides compasse, and swaruing from the direct line of sincere and ouuert dealing : (2) Yet may be by no meanes, nor for any end whatsoeuer, be false of his faith, or breaker of his word.

(1) In turbido rerum humanarum Pelago, fas est obliquare sinus :
& si recti a portum tenere nequeas, id ipsum mutata uelificatione assequi.

Si prudentiam amplecteris ubique idem eris, & prout rerum & temporis varietas exigit, ita te accommodes temporibus, nec te in aliquibus mutes: sicut manus qua eadem cum in palmam extenditur, & cum in pugnū astringitur.

Si quam rem accutes sobrie & frugaliter,

Solet

Cic. ad Len.

Sen. de viir.

Plant. Persa.

Selet tuare. i. i. i. mansus succedere;
atque adi. ol. f. i. me ut quisquam rem accurras suam,
sic et proceat.

(2) Fidem qui perdit, nil ultra potest.

Privatim praterea fidem suam interpanit, quam ille non minoris quam publicam ducebat.

Vera victoria, qua salus fide, & integra dignitate paratur.

Fac fidelis sis fideli, caue fidei fluxam gerat.

Fides etiam perfidis praestanda.

Nec ullares vehementius temp. continet quam fides.

Lodowick Sforza begitts Novara with a streight siege. The French garrison is vnable to hold out long, and in despaire of any succour: they capitulate to render, their hues saued; and to depart with bag and baggage. Zforza sweares to the articles: many of his Countsell perswade him, that the cutting off of these men would beea great meanes of his victory ouer the rest, and recouery of the whole Duchie: they alledge the authority of Politicians in iustification of the fact, and instance in the examples of some great Princes, who haue violated their faith to get a State, much more was it lawfull for him, in recouery of his owne. He will not be perswaded to breake his oath: but giues them a strong Guard for their safe conduct, as farre as Vercelli.

Senec. Sent.

Sal. Cat. de
Cassio.

Flor. l. i.

Plaur. Capt.

Lip. pol. 2.

Cic. off. 3)

APHORISME XLVIII.

Mercenary souldiers, though l-ued by com-
mission, are worse than those that are na-
tives: But such strangers and straglers as
are taken up by drum, are worst of all. For,
their actions are euermore taxed with the
dishonour of cowardise, or tainted with the
reproach of perfidiousnesse. A Prince is therefore to beware of
such Swallowes and swallowers of the Exchecquer: And not to
raise them but by publike authority of the State: as also, neuer so
far to trust them, as to put his life and fortunes into their hands.

Quamuis res nostra sint pater pauperula,

Modice & modeste melius est vitam viuere:

Nam si ad paupertatem admigrant infamia,

Gravior pauperis fit, fides sublestor.

Aut. 3. 1. 1.

1. 1. 1. 1. 1.

1. 1. 1. 1. 1.

1. 1. 1. 1. 1.

1. 1. 1. 1. 1.

1. 1. 1. 1. 1.

Plaur. Persa.

Lip. è Tacit.

Curt. ad Ale.

Lip. poll. 5.

Iuue. Sat. 14.

Lucan.

Iuue. Sat. 14.

*Exteri milite infidi, refractarij, tumultuarij, non fide, non affectu
tenentur.*

Præferendos tibi cenſeo genitos milites, non aſcitos.

Peregrinum & mercenarium militem, mos induxit, non ratio.

Falsus eris teſtis, vendet perinria ſummâ — exigua.

Nulla fides pietasq; viris qui caſtra ſequuntur.

Inde ſere ſcelerum cauſa, nec plura venena

Miſcui, aut ferro graſſatur ſapius vllum

Humana mentis vitium, quam ſana cupido.

Indomiti cenſus.

Many of the Swiſſe with *Lodowick* in *Nouara*, had lately reuolted to his ſide from *Triulio* and the French partie; either for want of pay, or ſome other treacherous and baſe end. There were other eight thouſand of the ſame nation, that *Zforza* had raiſed by the drum, by permiſſion onely, and without any publike commiſſion of the *Cantons*. In the French army are likewiſe many Swiſſe, but all leuiſed for the Kings ſeruiſe by authoritie. Theſe two armies confront one another ſo neare, as they are vpon the point to giue battell. Thoſe on *Lodowicks* ſide reſuſe to fight againſt their owne nation and kindred: they ioyned with them like brothers, and reſolue to depart home to their owne countrey. *Zforza* intreats their ſtay and that daies ſeruiſe, euen with teares. Nothing can ſtop their perfidious tergiverſation. Hee deſires (as his laſt refuge) that at leaſt he may depart in their troups, for his better ſafety from the enemy: They had couenanted otherwiſe with the French commanders, and flatly deny him this ſuit. They offer him this onely fauour, to ſuffer him be apparelled in the habit of one of their ordinary foot, and if hee can ſo make his eſcape, to put it to Fortune. The miſerable condition of this preſent eſtate forceth him to accept of this offer: he marcheth among them like a common ſouldier through the French troups. Diligent ſearch is made for him: he is diſcouered, and taken priſoner: So are *Galeazzo da San-Seuerino*, *Fracaſſa* and *Antonio-Maria*, his brethren; clad likewiſe after the Swiſſe faſhion, and marching on foot like priuate ſouldiers. The Swiſſe are not free from the imputation of betraying them thus into the enemies hands.

APHORISME XLIX.

Sparing (1) is a good reuenue to a priuate man: but to a Prince nothing is worse besetting his honour, nor indeed more preiudiciall to his affaires. (2) For, there is no bait to the golden booke; nor weapon to the silver speare, nor Fort, be it neuer so strong, that can long hold out against the Mule charged with treasure.

(1) *Contrahe de multis grandis acernus erit.
Diuitia grandes homini sunt viuere parce.
Magnum vectigal parsimonia.
Huic epula vicisse satiem, magniq; penates
Summauiffe hyemem.*

Magna opes, non tam multa capiendo, quam haud multa perdendo, quaeruntur.

*Vtere diuitijs tanquam moriturus, & idem
Tanquam victurus parcite diuitijs:*

*Parcere diuitijs qui tempore nouis & vit,
Ille modum seruans inter utrumque sapit.*

(2) *Imperat aut seruis collecta pecunia cuique.*

*Ἀργυρίου λόγχοισι μάχης, & πῦρ τοῦ νικητοῦ. Argentis pugna hastis, & omnia
vinctes.*

La plus forte place du monde sera tousiours prise: pourueu qu'un mule chargé d'escu, y puisse entrer.

Pecuniarum cupiditas Spartam capiet.

The Swisse in their returne homeward from the warres of Millan, take by surprise the strong rowne of Belinsone, a place of great importance, seated in the mountaines neare Swisserland, and stopping the passage from thence into this Duchie: it is offered to the French king for a small summe of money. He, naturally giuen to sparing, refuseth the purchase: the times alter, and accidents not long after happen, whereupon he would gladly haue had it at a farre higher rate, but could neuer compasse it.

Ouid. 2. Rem.

Lucret. 5.

Adag. Eras.

Lucan. de Ca-
ton. l. 2.

Dion. l. 51.

Th. Mor. & Lu-
cian.

Horat. ferm.

Philipp. apud
Plut.

Bod. rep. l. 5.

Eras. 487.

APHORISME L.



That mans happinesse is greatest, who hath beene in miserable condition : for he tasteth the double sweet, of remembring his fore-passed misery, and enjoying his present felicitie. So on the contrar, the greatest misery is to haue beene happie. Various is the estate of men in their greatnesse, and great is their miserie in their fall.

Dion. Cass.

Non tam rebus secundis suam felicitatem sentiunt, quam malis consiliatam desiderant.

Plaut. Trucu.

Actutum fortuna solent mutarier : varia vitæ est : Nos diuitem enim memiximus, atque iste pauperes nos.

Plaut. Rud.

Miserum istuc verbum est & pessimum, habuisse, & nihil habere.

Tasso. can. 82.

Cade : e breu' hora, opere si lunghe atterra.

Ariost. can. 45.

Fidar si al huomo non si conuisione.

*In suo Tesoro, suo Regno, e sue vittorie
Che sempre la sua Ruota in giro versa.*

Tasso. can. 7.

— Si come il folgore non cade

In basso pian, ma su l' eccelsa cime :

Così il furor di peregrina spada

Sol' de' gran Re l' altere teste opprime.

Tacit. hist. 4.

Magna documenta instabilis fortune summag & ima miscentis.

Tacit. de Tiber. an. 1.

Cuncta mortalium incerta, quantoq. plus adeptus fores, tanto se magis in lubrico ducans.

Ariost. a. g. 1.

O vita nostra di Tranaglio piena

Come ogni tua allegrezza poco dura :

Il tuo gioir è come Aria Serena

Ch' alla fredda Stagion troppo non dura.

Pro. Hisp.

Quando tengas mas Fortuna

Mira que es como la Luna.

Seneca.

— Quicquid in altum

Fortuna tulit, ruitura lenet.

Ariost. cant. 45.

Quanto più sul instabil Ruota vedi

Di Fortuna, ir in alto al miserabil huomo :

Tanto più tosto hai à veder gli i piedi

On' hor' ha il Capo, e far cadendo il Tomo.

APHORISME VIII.

Lodowicke Zforza, late Duke of Milan, a Prince of many worthy parts: excellent in eloquence, and other powers
of

of the mind, and gifts of nature: well deseruing the titles of Manfuete and mercifull, had he not stained his honour with that one infamous taint of procuring his nephewes death: Yet on the other side, of an ambitious, troublesome, and vaine-glorious spirit: a vsuall breaker of his word, and ouer-valewer of his owne worth, hardly admitting that any should be held wise but himselfe, or at least to himselfe comparable; presuming to carrie all matters to the bent of his owne will, by the dexterity of his own wit. This great Prince is brought into *Lions* at noone daies, for the world to gaze vpon, as the liuely modell of humane miserie. He is not permitted either the speech or sight of the King, but forth-with committed prisoner to the tower of *Loches*: here he remained ten yeares, and then died: hauing all that time of his durance, those high and vast thoughts of his immured within the streights of his prison walls, which carst the whole cuntry of *Italie* could scarce containe.

P p 2

APHO.

APHORISMES,

Ciuill and Militarie.

LIB. V.

APHORISME I.



AS (1) many men sinke for want of some small thing to hold themselves up above water: so many others fall to the bottome of desperate ruine, by seeking to embrace too much: For to ouer-graspe straineth and weakneth the sinewes, and forceth the hand to let fall what before it held fast. (2) It is therefore the part of a wise Prince, to stint and moderate his fortunes; whom it importeth in his greatest successe, rather to looke backward then forward: and rather to stop the current of dangers ensuing, then to follow the streame of that victory by which they will more be increased.

Plaut.

Tacit. au. l. 1.

Ouid. art. l. 2.

Lucan. l. 1.

Plut. in Sert.

Tacit. an. l. 11.

Liui. l. 22.

Tacit. hist. 4.

Thucyd. l. 7.

Bot. è Plut.

(1) *Nimia omnia nimium exhibent negotium hominibus.**Coercenda intra limites imperia.**Tu quoque formida nimium sublimia semper,**Propositaq. memor, contrabe vela tui.**O faciles dare summa deos, eademq. tueri**Difficiles.*(2) *Δει μὲν στρατὸν ἁγρόν μάλιστα, ὃ καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκείνῳ. Oportet Ducem magis respicere quam prospicere.**La grandezza meglio si custodisce con gli anneduti & moderati consigli, che co' precipitosi & troppo vehementi.**Non enim ego ut nihil agatur moneo: sed ut agentem te Ratio ducat non Fortuna.**Securitati potius quam potentia consulebant.**Melius praeuenire pericula quam inuenire victorias.**Il buon Capitano deuue hauer gli occhi non solo nella saccia, ma anco nelle spalle: & guardarsi non meno da dietro che d'inanzi.*

E' Vffizio di prudente Capitano, temer le cose che son degne d'effertemate: antenedendo quanti sono i pericoli, che fitira dietro colui, il quale del continuo attende ad occupar quello d'altri.

Lewes 12 hath made a speedie, fortunate, and full conquest of the Duchie of Millan. The Pope, Veneuians, and Florentines are in confederation with him. The other inferior Princes and States of Italy haue made their peace, either by mediation of their friends, or by mony. His way lies open to Naples: his title good: his forces great, and in a readinesse. But on the other side he sees Maximilian the Emperor and all the States of Germany offended, that so faire a branch as Millan should be lopped and dismembred from the Empire. He heares his Embassador is dismissed and discharged that Court. He vnderstands that a Diet is called, and all those States summoned, to determine the speedy recovery of that Duchie by the sword. Vpon these weighty considerations of the great preparations intended against him, and fearing that the getting of more might be the cause of losing what he had already gotten, he giues ouer for this time the enterprise of Naples.

APHORISME II.



Ince (1) Profit began to ouer-balance Honour, men trafficke their friendship and protection of mony: So much are these times for gold: But in the golden times, onely Religion, Iustice, and the publike Quiet, were the three Ioynt-purchasers of aid and friendship. (2) Wherefore that old rule ought still stand in force, and when the case is betweene Honour and aduantage, the publike negotiator (as well as the Prince himselfe) ought to haue the equity of the cause, and honour of his master, in more especiall recommendation.

(1) *Pecunia, ex quo in honore esse cepit, verus rerum bonus cecidit.*
In pretio pretium nunc est, dat census honores,
Census amicitia. —

(2) *Honor, maximum bonorum externorum.*

L' Honor

Am. Tac. l. i.

Senec. epist.

Ouid.

Arist. eth. l. 2.

Ario. Ca. 38.

*L'Honor è di più preggio che la vita.
Ch' à tutti altri piaceri è preferita.*

Plut. in Lac.
apoph.

Interrogatus quo quis pacto regnum optime conseruet: respondit, Si lacrymum possideat.

Amañ Tac.
lib. 4.

Gl' altri huomini nelle lor imprese & deliberazioni considerano quello solo che loro possa esser utile & profiteuole. Ma la condizione de' Principi è d' altra sorte: & principalmente, di douere nelle Azioni loro, auuertire alla fama, & nome loro.

Arist. rhet. l. 1.

Quorum primum honor est atque laus, longe prestantiora sunt, quam ea quorum primum est pecunia.

Ariost. Cant.
38.

*A l'honor che gli manca in vn momento,
Non può in cento anni satisfar, nè in cento.*

Claudian.

Emitur sola virtute potestas.

Arist. pol. 8.

Vtilitatem ubique querere non congruit magnanimo & ingenuo homini.

Horat.

Vilium virtutibus aurum.

Ario. Agg. 3.

*A la vita l'honor s'ha da proporre,
Fuor che l'honor non altra cosa alcuna:
Prima che mai lasciarsi l'honor torre
Dei mille vite per dre, non che vna.*

The Florentines importune the French King, to haue that aid from him for the recovery of *Pisa*, to which hee was tied by the articles of the last treaty, and by his oath: They of *Pisa*, *Genoa*, *Lucca*, and *Siena*, instantly labour the contrary. He referres the matter to the Cardinall of *Rom*, who was then gouernour, and resiant in *Millan*. These cities make offer, that in case *Pisa*, *Pietrasanta*, and *Montepulciano*, may be freed of the warre and molestation of the Florentines, to giue the King in presentmony one hundred thousand Duckats: Besides, if the Pilans may peaceably enioy their owne territories and *Ligorne*, they will couenant to pay him yearly fifty thousand Duckats for euer. *Triultio* and *John-Lewes Fiesco*, two other of the Kings principall officers, are both of them earnest solliciters & iunors in their behalfe, and vrge how much it imported the Kings affaires in *Italy*, to keepe the Florentines low. But the Cardinall hath more respect to his masters honour, engaged to this State both by couenant and oath, than to these large offers, or politicke ends. He sends them the aid demanded.

APHORISME III.

Power (1) and worth in the Commander be-
get feare and loue in a souldier: and they are
in warre as heat and moisture are in nature:
They giue life and growth to the seruice in
band; without them, both to will and to doe
withereth in the army: For where his power
hath no vertue of heat to inforce and enflame the souldiers
cold stomacke to courage, nor his worth the power of moisture to
supplie and quicken his dull limmes to the action, there the hope
of all good successe doth wither and decay. (2) Men are not
therefore to be dignified with those high places, that are not
qualified with those noble parts.

(1) *Authoritatis proles, felicitas.*

Habendus metus aut faciendus est.

*Vehementer pertinet ad bella administranda, quid hostes, quid socij, de
imperatoribus existiment.*

Vn Generale dene di tanto auanzare gli altri di virtù, quanto di dignità.

Multa auctoritate: quæ viro militari pro sacundia erat.

Seueritas amorem, facilitas auctoritatem diminuit.

Omnes hi perfecti hoc primum habebant, quod a subditis tolerentur.

Quia supplicia Ducis metuebant, magis observantes ordinis erant.

(2) *Mars gradibus dictus, non quod per saltum sed gradatim ad offi-
cia militaria promotio fieri debeat.*

*Cyrus præmia proponebat ordinum ductoribus (sed optimis) ut fierent
Tribuni: primipilis vero (sed optimis) ut fierent ordinum ductores.*

Quales Praefecti, tales etiam qui sub ipsis sunt frequentius fiunt.

The Cardinall of Roan sends six hundred Lances, and
five thousand Swisse, to the seruice of the Florentines
against Pisa: the King to pay the Lances; they the Swisse.
The Florentines affying much in Beaumont, will needs ob-
taine him of the King for the Generall of their army, be-
cause he had formerly with such readinesse surrendred
them Ligorno, vpon the Kings commandement: Aman of
meane ranke, lesse experience, and least authority among
the French Commanders. The King had assigned to this
charge Iuod' Allegri, a commander well practised in the
warre, of a noble family, of farre greater reputation
than

Curt.

Lip. pol. l. 1.

Cic. pro. leg.
Man.

Parut. di. l. 1.
Tacit. An. 15.

Tacit. Agric.

Xen. Cyr. l. 2.
Xen. de exp.
Cyr.

Ammirat. l. 3.

Xen. inst. Cyr.
l. 2.

Xenop. Cyr.
pæd. 8.

than the other, and one whom the army would more willingly haue obeyed. This ill made choice of theirs was chiefe cause of all the ill successe which shortly after hapned in that seruice.

APHORISME IV.



MEn (1) can see to doe right betweene partie and partie, when it concernes not their owne particular: But being parties themselves, the case is altered. For here they which before were as sharpe sighted as Lynx, turne as blinde as a Mole: and no maruell, (2) for profit and bribes put out the eyes of Iustice. Wherefore let him that would speed in an honest cause neuer referre it to a corrupt Iudge.

(1) *Lamiam domi dormire cecam, oculis in vaseulo repositis: foras autem egressam, inferere oculos & videre: ita quisque nostrum, &c.*

In alienis rebus Lynceus oculis cernimus, in nostris cacutimus.

Sicilius munere Demosthenes, adiunxit se Harpalo: fingens vocem sibi praelusam esse.

(2) *Aurum perstringit oculos.*

Corrumpentia sensus dona.

Nullum vitium citius avaritia, praesertim in Principibus & reip. gubernatoribus.

Tò ἀγχιότερον αἵματι καὶ ἰσχυρὰ ἔχοντι. Pecunia sanguis & vita hominibus.

Ἡ πόρος καὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ τιμή καὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ τιμή. Vainera nequissima mater, amor nammi.

Virtutem & Sapientiam vincunt testudines, i. Numismata: (Numisma antiquitus dictum ὀστρεον, ab insculpta testudine.)

Malitia praeiis exercetur, ubi ea demiseris nemo omnium gravior malus est.

The Cardinall had worthily respected and preferred the honour of his master before his profit, by performance of couenants with the Florentines, in sending them present aid and promising reassurance and surrender of their cautionary townes. The French forces take in *Pietrasanta*, which was one of those townes in caution, and dispossesse the *Lucchesi* thereof: who offer the Cardinall a round summe of money, not to deliuer it into the Florentines hands. He accepts their money: takes them into the

Plut. de Curio-
sic.

Exa. adag.

Plut. Demo.

Lip. pol. 4.

Claudian.

Cic. off. lib.

Poet. Græc.

Phocylid.

Adag.

Salude rep.

Lu. ad. 1. 9.

the Kings protection, and holds the place in *deposito*, till the controuersie be decided betweene them : contrary to what he had formerly and faithfully promised.

APHORISME V.

RAbnesse (1) is obnoxious to all manner of ambush and surprise : it is hot at hand, but tireth at length and hauing vented the first furie, dieth like a waspe that hath lost her sting Wherefore men must looke before they leape, and consider the danger before they runne into it : lest as they goe on with small heed, they come off with lesse gaine. (2) For as the Puffen, a fish of all other the most dull and slow, is often found with a Mullet in his belly, of all other fishes the most swift in swimming : so wise and well aduised men do alwaies ouertake and ouerbrow the head-strong and hasty.

(1) *Temeritas, praterquam quod stulta est, est etiam infelix. Restinatum temere bellum pari formidine deserunt.*

— *Si cede al periglio*

Ch' audace appare improuido consiglio.

Peccat penè necessario qui festinas. Quod si tamen non labitur, quid efficit ? parum.

Facilis hic talis est ad omnem circumuentionem, fraudem, dolum.

etiano cognosceua che Oruso era ragione molto feroce, & però più ageuole ad ammansarsi, & più atto à mal capitare, per la stessa ferocità sua.

Brutino era assai verito, se si fosse indirizzato per buon cammino, & isorgene con lento passo, ma egli fece troppa fretta.

In cogitantes fors non consilium rapit.

(2) *Argumentum solertia Pastinacorum hoc est, quod cum sint piscium satuti sunt, Mugilum tamen omnium velocissimum in ventre habentes referantur.*

Disper. oribent parua commola magna mora.

Jumpju cue. auct. si flamma mora est.

Beaumont is set downe before Pisa, betweene the gates Alle Piogge and Calcejan. The artillery batters all the first night, and greatt part of the next day : an assaultable breeth is made of thirty fathome. The souldiers, horle and

Liui. 22.

Tac. an. 14.

Tasso. can. 19.

Lip. poll. 5.

Polybl. 3.

Am. in Tacit. an. 14.

Am. in Tacit. an. 13.

Auson. 93. f.

Plin. nat. hist. 19. c. 41.

Ouid. 3. Fast.

Ouid. epist.

foot runne pell-mell to the assault, without any direction from their Commanders, or order among themselues: not considering how they were to passe a ditch, which the Pisans had made very deepe, betweene the breach and their innerworkes. Discouering now the breadth and depth of this trench, and how the defendants were there ready to receiue them, they stand rather like gazers on the difficulty, than souldiers that should assaile it, and fall coldly off, without giuing any further attempt.

APHORISME VI.



Here (1) is nothing so dangerous in a State or Campe, as contempt of the Prince or Generall: there is nothing breeds it more in the subiect or souldier, than remissnesse and lenity. For be that suffereth one mischiefe passe unpunished, inuiteth another, which bringeth the command into discredit, and the seruice into despaire. (2) Wherefore, as in men of great ranke, it is lesse blame-worthy to be ouer-stately and imperious, then ouer-familiar and base: So in men of great office, it is a lesse fault to be ouer-rigorous, than not to punish offenders at all.

Lip. poli. 5.
Id an. 1. 3.

Appian.

Tac. de Cor.
bolon. an. 1. 1.

Tacit. an. 13.

Lucan. l. 3. de
Caes.

(1) *Faciles isti & miles vilescunt.*

Bis noxi, in se & in rem, qui Plebi reuerentiam exantunt, & licentiam praebeant peccandi.

Austeri Duces, suis: faciles, hostibus sunt utiles.

(2) *Legiones veterem ad morem reduxit: ne quis agmine discederet, nec pugnam nisi iussu iniret, &c. Fervitq; militum quia vallum non accinctus, atque alium quia pugione tantum accinctus foderet, morte punitos.*

Corbuloni plus molis aduersus ignamiam militum, quam contra perfidiam hostium erat.

— *Gaudet tamen esse timori*

Tam magno populis, & se nec mallet amari.

The Generall Beaumont punished not that first fault of his souldiers, in running to the breach without either direction or order. His armie growes therefore daily more carelesse of him: They goe in and out of the armie at pleasure,

sure, and conuerle and commerce with the Pisans as friends. They sticke not openly to iustifie their cause against the Florentines. *Triulzio* and *Iohn-Iacob Palauisni* giue them encouragement. *Vitellozzo* sends *Tarlatino* to the succours of *Pisa*. The French know of his comming, and yet suffer him and his troopes to enter the towne without impeachment. The victuals that were comming to the campe, themselves cut off by the way, that their Generall might be forced to raise the siege. He now wanteth as much authority, as at first he did care, to redresse those disorders. The *Galcoigns* mutine, and forsake the campe: the Dutch doe the like: the *Swisse* goe after the rest: and then the French lances: leaving the Florentine affaires in great extremitie.

APHORISME VII.



S(1) in Schoole disputations, where one absurditie is granted, infinite others follow: so in those actions of State which are disputed by the sword, one error begets another, and this a third, a worse: (2) especially in those men that will not acknowledge their first oversight: who, how soeuer they seek to transference the imputation and blame vpon others, the losse and shame lighteth on themselves.

(1) *Uno absurdo dato, infinita consequuntur.*

Finis unus principium alterius est mali.

Nelle cose della guerra, s'agegongono sempre a disordini, disordini nuou.

Le dnyz te monz. Anceps conditio bellorum, & ex parte fiunt multa.

Ideo Lysimachus dicere solebat, Duces in bello errantes nulla vena dignos esse: ubi si quid offenditur, temeritate vel inscitia emendari non potest.

Prætorum enim delicta emendationem non recipiunt.

(2) *Quoties aliquid inopinatum accidit, consueumus inculcare fortunam. Magno se iudice quisque tuetur.*

Quanto quis magis inficiatur vitium suum, tanto magis in ipsum penetrat: & quanto magis intro fugies, tanto magis in caupona eris.

*Arist. int. l. 2.
Seneca.*

Porcin Guic.

Thucyd. f. 52.

*Alex. in gen.
al. l. 2.*

Lip. poll. 5.

Thucyd. l. 1.

Lucan. l. 1.

*Plur. de prof.
vinct.*

The disastrous successe before *Pisa*, hapning to the Florentines through their owne error in the bad choise of
 Qq 2 their

foot runne pell-mell to the assault, without any direction from their Commanders, or order among themselves: not considering how they were to passe a ditch, which the Pisans had made very deepe, betweene the breach and their innerworkes. Discovering now the breadth and depth of this trench, and how the defendants were there ready to receiue them, they stand rather like gazers on the difficulty, than souldiers that should assaile it, and fall coldly off, without giuing any further attempt.

APHORISME VI.



Here (1) is nothing so dangerous in a State or Campe, as contempt of the Prince or Generall: there is nothing breeds it more in the subiect or souldier, than remisnesse and lenity. For be that suffereth one mischiefe passe unpunished, inuiteth another, which bringeth the command into discredit, and the seruice into despaire. (2) Wherefore, as in men of great ranke, it is lesse blame-worthy to be ouer-stately and imperious, then ouer-familiar and base: So in men of great office, it is a lesse fault to be ouer-rigorous, than not to punish offenders at all.

(1) *Faciles isti & mites vilescunt.*

Bis noxi in se & in temp. qui Plebi reuerentiam exantunt, & licentiam præbent peccandi.

Austeri Duces, suis: faciles, hostibus sunt utiles.

(2) *Legiones veterem ad morem reduxit: ne quis agmine discederet, nec pugnam nisi iussus iniret, &c. Feruntq. militem quia vallum non accinctus, atque alium quia pugione tantum accinctus foderet, morte punitos.*

Corbuloni plus molis aduersus ignauiam militum, quam contra perfidiam hostium erat.

— *Gaudet tamen esse timori*

Tam magno populi, & se nec mallet amari.

The Generall Beaumont punished not that first fault of his souldiers, in running to the breach without either direction or order. His armie growes therefore daily more carelesse of him: They goe in and out of the armie at pleasure,

Lip. pol. l. 5.
Id an. l. 3.

Appian.

Tac. de Cor-
bolon. an. 14.

Tacit. an. 13.

Lucan. l. 3. de
Cæs.

sure, and conuerse and commerce with the Pisans as friends. They sticke not openly to iustifie their cause against the Florentines. *Triultio* and *Iohn-Iacob Palauisini* giue them encouragement : *Vitellozzo* sends *Tarlatino* to the succours of *Pisa*. The French know of his comming, and yet suffer him and his troopes to enter the towne without impeachment. The victuals that were comming to the campe, themselves cut off by the way, that their Generall might be forced to raise the siege. He now wanteth as much authority, as at first he did care, to redresse those disorders. The *Galcoigns* mutine, and forsake the campe : the Dutch doe the like : the *Swisse* goe after the rest : and then the French lances : leauing the Florentine affaires in great extremitie.

APHORISME VII.



S(1) in Schoole disputations, where one absurditie is granted, infinite others follow : so in those actions of State which are disputed by the sword, one error begets another, and this a third, a worse : (2) especially in those men that will not acknowledge their first oversight : who, howsoeuer they seek to transference the imputation and blame vpon others, the losse and shams lighteth on themselves.

(1) Vno absurdo dato, infinita consequuntur.

Finitis vnus principium alterius est mali.

Nelle cose della guerra, s'agiongono sempre a disordini, disordini nuou.

L'vna ra mda. Anceps conditio bellorum, & ex paruo fiunt multa.

Ideo *Lysimachus* dicere solebat, *Duces in bello errantes nulla venia dignos esse* : vbi si quid offenditur temeritate vel inscitia emendari non potest.

Praetorum enim delicta emendationem non recipiunt.

(2) Quoties aliquid inopinatum accidit, consueuimus inculcare fortunam.

Magno se iudice quisque tuetur.

Quanto quis maior inficiatur vitium suum, tanto maior in ipsum penetrat : & quanto maior intro fugies, tanto maior in caupona eris.

The disastrous successe before *Pisa*, hapning to the Florentines through their owne error in the bad choise of
 Qq 2 their

Aristint. l. 2.

Seneca.

Ponin Guic.

Thucyd. l. 52.

Alex. in gen.

al. l. 2.

Lip. polly.

Thucyd. l. 1.

Lucan l. 1.

Plut. de prof.

virtut.

their Generall, is seconded with another worse than the first, and imputable onely to their owne fault. It was thus: The French king is highly displeased with the miscarriage of that seruice, as well in regard that his good allies the Florentines should sustaine such a warre at so great a charge to so little purpose: as that the glory of his army which earst had triumphed almost ouer all *Italy*, should now lose that reputation, by being so shamefully forced to leaue a towne, wherein were no other defendants but inhabitants, and no souldier of marke to command them. He laies the blame and iustly vpon themselues; yet desirous to repaire their losse, and his owne credit, he wils them to consent that his French troupes may be quartered for that winter in the Pisan territory: and in the opening of the yeare, he assures them of their seruice, and doubts not of a more fortunate successe. The Florentines will by no meanes acknowledge their owne error: they transerre it vpon the French troupes, and refuse this honourable offer. They of *Siena*, *Lucca*, and *Genoa*, perceiuing the king whom ere while they durst not offend, to be now fallen from the Florentines, begin openly to aid the Pisans with men and mony, and driue the Florentines into worse streights of difficultie, than euer they were before. And for a greater addition to their troubles, the two factions in *Pistoia*, of the *Pancia-tici* and the *Cancelieri*, at that very instant turne their secret grudges and heart-burnings into action of open hostility and bloudshed, to the disturbance of the whole State, and hinderance of the Pisan seruice. Against which milchiefe also the Florentines tooke no timely order for redresse.

APHORISME VIII.



Mong (1) *Sutors in loue and in law, money is a common medler and driues the bargain and businesse to an vp-shot: By it, those contract their marriage, and these conclude their peace: (2) But it is no sure contracter of Friendship betweene States.*

Amity

Amity baptised in this water is soone renounced: and bonds that are knit by this knot, are easily by the same dissolved.

(1) *Chi per alcun accidente, non per bene disposta volontà, si fa amico, scuoprendosi per altro caso et per qualche mutazione di cose i più veri affetti: resta non pure come prima nemico, ma per qualche nuovo dispetto più acerbo.*

Vt cuique homini res parata est, firmi amici sunt: si labant res lassati, item amici collabascunt.

Non aliud maius amoris magni indicium noui, quam pecunia.

Argentum modò adfit, omnia conficiunt.

Caduceus amicarum censerì debet auro Babylonico.

(2) *Non sunt fideles in amicitia, quos munus non gratia copulat.*

Tales amicitia celeriter dirimuntur.

Negotiatio est non amicitia, quæ ad commodum accedit.

Plena querelarum & criminationum omnes amicitia, qua fructibus & emolumentis diriguntur.

Romana resp. amicitias auro nunquam comparatis.

Gagner les hommes per argent, est une ruse sottè & meschante, car il n'y a point de foy en des amys d'argent.

Parut. l. 1.
dis. 5.

Plaut. Stich.

Aristain l. 1.

Aristain l. 1.

Id l. 2. ep. 1.

Isidor.

Arist. eth. l. 8.

Seneca.

Arist. eth. l. 8.

Mac. dif. l. 1.

Am. Plut.
Phoc.

Fredericke King of Naples giues the Emperor Maximilian forty thousand Duckats: bindes himselfe to pay him euery moneth fiftene thousand more, towards the maintenance of his warres against the French King. The Emperor promisseth to begin the warre in Milan, (if the case so require) to diuert the French from Naples: and vowes neuer to come to any accord with him, except he also comprise the King of Naples. The French will haue truce with the Emperor at what rate soeuer, before he set forward against Frederick. He vseth the Archdukes mediation, who was Duke of Burgundy, and the Emperors Sonne. The Duke vnwilling his merchants should lose their trafficke and commerce with France, and desirous to match his young sonne Charles with Claude the Kings daughter, and the Duchie of Milan in dower with her, (which was then propounded) worketh a truce betweene his father and the French for many moneths, and preuaileth. Among many articles of that accord, these were two, the Emperor to haue a certaine summe of money, and the King of Naples to be excluded out of the truce.

APHORISME IX.



IT⁽¹⁾ is so farre from scandall or reproofe, to circumuent and entrap a publike and professed enemy, as it is rather iust, lawfull, and profitable, be it by any meanes possible, but by breach of oath or covenant: (2) For, but vpon reliance of one of these, an enemy is not properly said to be deceiued. But to betray a kinſman, friend, and confederate, is contrary to all law, odious to all men, iniurious to the party, and impious to God.

Plut. Ageſ.

Plaut. Perſa.

Lip. pol. 1. 5.

Virg. Æn. 2.

Thucyd. 1. 6.

Macc. 1. 3.

Virg. L. 12.

Lip. pol. 1. 4.

Petrarch.

Ario. Ca. 40.

(1) *Fœderatum iniuste fallere, impium: at hostes, non solum iustum, sed etiam suave & fructuosum est.*

Hanc rem exorsus sum facete & callide, Igitur prouenturam bene confido mihi.

Etiam Romani veteres, auidi aliâs & tenaces virtutis & fidei seruandæ, quendam bonum dolum dicebant.

Autem clypeos, Dardanumq. insignia nobis Aptemus, dolum an virtus quis in hoste requirit?

Ne semper ab his cauere, aliquando vos ipsis insidias tendite.

Usus fraudis in cæteris actionibus detestabilis, in bello gerendo laudabilis.

Quantum ipse feroci Virtute exuperat, tanto me impensius aquum est Consulere.

(2) *Fraus triplex: prima leuis, ut dissimulatio, & diffidentia: hanc suadeo.*

Secunda media, ut consiliatio & deceptio: illam tolero. Tertia magna, ut perfidia & iniusticia: istam damno.

Proditor turpius nihil unquam sol vidit: cuius obscenitas tanta est, ut & qui artificio eius egent, execrentur artificem: & qui cæterorum scelerum famam querunt, huius infamiam reformident.

Sa ben quanto à mal termine, & à mal porto E come spesso in van sospira e geme, Chiung il Regno suo si lascia torre, E per soccorso à Barbari ricorre.

Though *Lewes* 12. be assured of the Emperor, yet in his enterprize vpon *Naples*, he feares to haue the King of *Spain*, *Venetians*, and *Pope*, opposite to him, in iealousie of his greatnesse. He therefore treats with the *Spaniard* about the sharing of that kingdome betweene them. The

Spanish

Spaniſh King had euer ſince the conqueſt which his grandfather *Alphonſo* made vpon *Naples*, held his owne title good, and himſelfe wronged by the Neapolitane Kings : yet he couered his diſcontent with a Spaniſh craft and patience, and had continued in all good offices of parentade and amity with thoſe kings : he had giuen his ſiſter in marriage to old *Ferdinand*, and his conſent to her daughters marriage with *Ferdinand* the younger. Now therefore, the ſame ambitious deſire concurring in theſe two great Princes : in the one, to remooue all obſtacles to what he had formerly deſſeigned, in the other, to haue a ſhare in that whereto he pretended, they accord vpon this partage: The French King to haue the citie of *Naples*, with all the *Terra di Lauoro*, and Prouince of *Abbruzzo*: The Spaniſh King to hold the Prouince of *Calabria* and *Puglia*. That this practiſe ſhall be kept ſecret till the French kings army were aduanced on the way, as farre as *Rome* : till which time, the Embaſſadors of them both ſhould beare the Pope in hand, that theſe great preparations were made by their Maſters for a warre vpon the Infidels and the generall good of Chriſtendome : but that then they ſhould require the inueſtiture from the Pope, according to the tenor of this accord: The Spaniſh King to be entitled Duke of *Calabria* and *Puglia* : and the French, King of *Naples* and *Ieruſalem*. Now *Fredericke*, not diſcouering this complot, and vnderſtanding that the French forces, of one thouſand lances, foure thouſand Swiſſe, and ſix thouſand foot of Gaſcoignes and other French, were aduanced as farre as *Tuſcany*, and not knowing that the Spaniſh *Armada* in *Sicilia* (vnder ſhew of frienſhip and aſſiſtance) was prepared and there ready againſt himſelfe, deſires *Conſaluo* the *Gran Capitano*, and chiefe Commander of the Spaniſh forces, to bring that fleet to *Gaetta*, for his ſuccours. *Conſaluo* vnder colour of ſafe retreit for his ſouldiers (but indeed to make his maſters purchaſe more eaſie) demands poſſeſſion of certaine townes in *Calabria*, till the warres were ended, and then to be againe ſurrendred. They are deliuered freely, without any ſuſpition had, or caution taken. Thus is the poore credulous Prince moſt deceiued by his neareſt kinſ-

kinsman, and greatest friend, and in whose power and loue he most of all affied.

APHORISME X.

Perfidious violation of oath and couenant is as damnable as Atheisme (if not more :) Because it wilfully and wittingly abuseth and scorneth that Deity, which it necessarily, though unwillingly acknowledgeth. But when it is accompanied with vnnatural lust, and vnhumane cruelty, hell hath not a fit name, nor the world a sufficient punishment for it.

Bod. rep. l. 5.

Iuue. Sat. 13.

Idem.

Æsop. fol. 82.

Claudi. Eur.

Menander.

Aristo. phrat.
ad Alex.

Claudian. in
Curat.

Bod. rep. l. 5.

Bod. de Lyfa.
Plut.

La Pariure est plus execrable que l'Atheisme : d'autant que l'Atheisme qui ne croit point en Dieu, ne luy fait pas tant d'iniure (ne pensent point qu'il y en ait) que celuy qui sçait bien, & le pariure par moquerse.

Tam facile & prouum est superos contemnere stiles.

Hic putat esse Deos, & peierat.

Sed licet homines peierantes lateamus, Deum tamen non latebimus.

Et ruit in vetitum damni secreta libido.

Θεὸν ἐπινοῶν, ὡς ὅτεσι λαλῶντα. i. Deum deierans ne putes latere.

Οὐκ ἐπινοῶν, οὐδέ τι τῶν τι πάρα ἢ δῶν, τιμωρῶν, καὶ τῶν τὰς πῖς ἀδελφῶν αἰσῶν. Ne peiera : timens supplicium à Deo, & ab hominibus infamiam.

In prolem dilata ruunt periuria patris,

Et pœnam merito filius ore luit.

Puis que la foy est seul fondement & appuye de Justice, sur laquelle sont fondees toutes les Republiques, Alliances, & Societez des hommes : aussi fault il qu'elle de meure sacrée & inniolable, és choses que ne sont point iniustes.

*Se vantoit de tromper les grands aux sermens, & les enfants aux offe-
letes.*

Duke Valentinois, after a long siege before Faenza, capitulates with the towne, and with Astorre Manfredi, Lord thereof. He binds himselfe by oath (vpon surrender of the place) to saue the liues and goods of the inhabitants, and to giue Manfredi his liberty to liue where he list, with fruition of his owne proper inheritance. They yeeld vpon these conditions. He keeps his word with the Faentines: but Manfredi, a beautifull yong gentleman vnder eightene yeeres of age, is staid by the Duke: vnder pretence to haue him brought vp in his Court : and at first is entertained with

with ail honourable demonstration. But ere long, his innocent youth is forced to yeeld to the perfidious cruelty of the victor: by whom, after satisfaction (as was said) of his filthy and vnaturall lust, he and his base brother are murdered in *Rome*.

APHORISME XI.



Hanks for benefits receiued, are turned into hate when they are so great as they cannot be requited; or when they are bestowed vpon him who takes them as done of dutie or necessitie, and is vnwilling to requite them.

For in such a man, the desire of hauing more, is stronger to wrong his friend and make war vpon him, then the memory of kindneses receiued, either to requite those former fauours, or relinquish the action undertaken.

Beneficia vsque eo lata sunt, dum videntur posse exolui: ubi multum anteuenerit, pro gratia odium redditur.

Tacitan. l. 4.

Quidam quò plus debent magis oderint.

Senec. ep. 19.

Loue as alienum, debitorem facit, graue inimicum.

Ibid.

Adiutoribus imperij, pro necessitudinis iure, proque meritorum gratia, cruenta mors persoluta est.

Suet. in Cali.

Et dum quarendis inhiat, quasita non meminit.

Pet. Dial. 93.

Sic Aries nutritionis mercedem persoluit, Rex reuerentia amittit. Aries alituram rependit.

Adag. 293.

Valentinois, after the taking in of *Faenza*, is created Duke of *Romagna* by the Pope his father, with approbation of the Consistory. *Vitellozzo* and *Orsini*, chiefe Leaders vnder him, and professed enemies to *Florence*, (the one for reuenge of his brother *Vitellies* death, the other for the restoring of his banished friend *Peter Medici*) perswade the Duke to take the aduantage of the time, and to warre vpon that State, now while the French king stands so highly displeased with her. The Florentines had neuer wronged either him or his father: they had done them many fauours and offices of friends: they had at his instance renounced the protection of the *Ricarij* and their estates, to which they were bound by article of couenant: they had giuen him free passage through their country, of victuals and

other provisions for his armie in Romagna. All this notwithstanding, he embraceth the motion to warre vpon them : and for the first engageure thereof, sends *Liucrotto da Fermo* with three hundred horse to the succours of *Pisa*.

APHORISME XII.



*I*t is a damnable policy to make those whose confusion thou doest wish, the instruments of their owne destruction : and no lesse deuillish a deuise it is, to draw men into the complice of thine offence, that they may be copartners of thy punishment.

Am.Pl.Grac

Les hommes transportez de l'esprit de vengeance, n'omettent indignité quelconque qu'ils ne pratiquent, pour exccuter leurs cruels desseins.

Am.Pl.Agis.

Les tyrans aident à deffaire ceux, de qui ilz se sont seruis, & les trahissent malheureusement.

Id. ibid.

Qui a l'enuie de ruiner un autre, jette la conscience au loin, & se souille de trahison, pour y paruenir.

Salust. Ing.

Statuit enim obiectare periculis, & eo modo fortunam tentare : Sperans vel ostentando virtutem, vel hostium sanctia eum occasurum.

Liui. l. 4.

Sic Tolumnius Fidmates cruento scelere interficiendi Logatos implicuit, ne spem ullam à Romanis possint respicere.

Salust. Cat.

Sic Castellanum, populares sceleris sui ut fides faceret tanti facinoris conscios, humani corporis sanguinem vino permixtum in pateris circumtulisse.

Lucan. l. 5.

Facinus quos inquinat, aequat.

olyb. l. 1.

Valentino enters into the confines of *Bologna*, resolues to vsurp vpon that State, and expell *Bentinoglio* : receiues expresse charge and commandement from the French king, not to proceed in the enterprife, because *Bentinoglio* and that State are vnder his protection. He obeyeth perforce, and accords with *Bentinoglio* : yet, for that he wished the ruine of him and of that State, and that he might incurre the citizens hatred, and put all in danger, he perswades him that the family *Marescotti* had called him and his troupes to those confines, and had intelligence with him for the attempt. The *Marescotti* are a noble and great house in *Bologna* : *Bentinoglio* murthereth them almost all : his

sonne

sonne *Hermes*, and diuers yong Lords of the towne are ministers of this bloody execution, whom *Bentiuoglio* purposely drew into the massacre ; that their hands being embued in the blood of the *Marescotti*, and as deeply engaged in the act as he, they might be hated of that family and their friends as well as himsele, and bound to desire the conseruation of his estate, or forced to runne like misfortune with him.

APHORISME XIII.

If it be lawfull to capitulate and covenant with the enemy, it is vnlawfull and vnjust not to keepe touch vpon the accord. If faith be not to be kept with such, why then doest thou capitulate? In contracts therefore of truce or peace, take heed how thou trust him in any thing, who is ready to yeeld to euery thing. For he that speaketh much more than he thinketh, performeth alwaies much lesse than he speaketh.

*Si la foy ne doit estre gardée aux ennemis, elle ne doit pas estre donnée :
et au contraire, s'il est licite de capituler avec les ennemis, aussi est il neces-
saire de leur garder la foy.*

Celui qui iure pour tromper son ennemi, il monstre euidentement, qu'il se meque de Dieu, & ne crains que son ennemi.

Ἐχθρὸς γὰρ μοι κενὸς ὁμοῦ αἰδέω πολλήσιν
 ἱερεῖν μὲν κενεὴ ἐν φρεσὶν αἰνέει ἑαζέει. β.

Inimicus enim ille mihi aequè ac inferni porta, qui aliud quidem occultat animo, aliud vero dicit.

Cum inducta nondum exissent, turpe fuisset victori Anglo violare in-
ductas.

*Promesso gli ho, non già per offeruargli
(Che fatto per timor nullo è il contratto)*

Ma la mia intension fu per vietargli

Quel che per forza harebbe al hora f.

Bod.rep.1.4.

Id. Ibid.

Homer. 11.9.

Polyd. 149.

Airsoft can be

The Florentines and *Valentino's* are accorded: He, because the French king was displeased with his enterprise upon that State: and they, because they feared the returne of *Peter Medici*. Though *Valentino's* out of an old grudge he bare to *Medici*, intended nothing lesse than his good,

howsoever he led him with vaine hopes, and made him the Stale of his owne ambitious purpose : for he thought by this meanes to winne some towne of importance from the Florentines, or to force them to a farther agreement for his owne aduantage. The Articles agreed vpon are these: A confederation defensiu betweene them: In generall, not to aid the one the others rebels: More expressely, they not to assist the Lord of *Piombino*; he not to defend the Pisans. To giue him entertainment with three hundred men armes for three yeares : and a yearly pension of thirte six thousand Duckats. This accord made, he marcheth to *Signa*, burnes and spoiles all by the way, as if it had been in the enemy countrey : knowing that they onely entertained him in their pay, to be rid of him for the present. He sends to demand artillery of them, for his desseigned enterprise vpon *Piombino* : and that they would aduance a quarters imprest of his entertainment. That former, they flatly deny, as not being comprised in the couenants. This other, they cunningly deferre, being resolved not to performe that at all to which they had yeilded by force, and whereof they had assurance from their Ledger in the French Court, that the King would free them.

APHORISME XIII.



Large kingdome is a great morsell, yet not enough to suffice the hungrie mawes of two that are ambitious : each will winne the horse or lose the saddle ; haue all, or lose all : for Loue and Lordship brooke no fellowship. It is therefore great imprudence in him that admits of an equall, where himselfe may be sole commander, or at least chiefe vmpire.

Am. Plut. Art.

Ouid.

Tac. an. l. 6.

Encores qu'un grand Empire soit un bien gros morseau, si ne peut il souffrir à deux.

Non bene cum socijs Regna Venusq; manent.

Eam conditionem esse imperandi, ut non aliter ratio consitet quam si uni reddatur.

Vnum

*Vanum esse reip. corpus, atque unius animo regendum.
Duo aut premunt temp. aut di strahunt.*

Partiri non potes orbem,

Solus habere potes.

Non bonum est multorum imperium, rex unicus esto.

The French King grants the moyety of the kingdome of Naples to fall to the Spaniards share, and admits of a Ri-uall in Italy, where before himselfe was sole arbiter : to whom all his open enemies, and discontented friends, might haue recourse, and who was linked in parentade, and strict interest, with the Romane Emperor ; whom of all other Princes in the world, the French had most reason to suspect : whereas Frederick then King of Naples made humble sute vnto him by all possible meanes, to hold that realme of him in fee, with recognition of fealty, and payment of yearly tribute. A fault which his predecessor Charles 8. auoyded: who was willing to giue one of those former kings, faire Estates and Honours in the realme of France, but would neuer yeeld to allow him any one foot in the kingdome of Naples: but here one is admitted for a partner, who shortly after shoulders out his companion.

APHORISME XV.

TH (1) the tribunall, where mens actions are brought to triall, the eare is but a promoter, the eye is both witnesse and iudge. For, if what we onely heare by report doe enforme vs, and not what we see in effect and by prooffe, there must needs be error in that iudgement. (2) Because moral honesty like Christian piety, consists not in verball profession and protestation, but in actuall practice, void of all corruption, and spotlesse. He therefore that will not be deceived by State-hypocrites, who make honesty and religion the cloake of their ambition, must not listen after their words, but looke into their actions: lest his eares that tickle with such pleasing report, doe afterwards tingle with the smart of the blow.

Tacit. an. l. i.

Id. l. i. fol. 9.

Lucan. l. i.

Homer. II.

Plutarch. l. i.

Tacit. an. l. i.

Plutarch. l. i.

Plutarch. l. i.

Plutarch. l. i.

Plutarch. l. i.

Plutarch. l. i.

Plutarch. l. i.

Plutarch. l. i.

Plutarch. l. i.

Plutarch. l. i.

Plutarch. l. i.

Plutarch. l. i.

Plutarch. l. i.

Plutarch. l. i.

Plutarch. l. i.

Plutarch. l. i.

Plutarch. l. i.

Plutarch. l. i.

Plutarch. l. i.

Plutarch. l. i.

Plutarch. l. i.

Plutarch. l. i.

Plutarch. l. i.

Hesod. Clio.

Ruffin.

Adag.

Hor. de art.
poet.

Lactant.

Seneca.

Incer. Aut.

Lip. poll. r.

(1) Ὡς ἐν ὁρᾷ ἀμείνων ἀνθρώπων. i. *Aures magis incredula, quàm oculi. De fide cuiusque, magis oculis quàm auribus credendum. Plus valet oculus testis quàm auris decem. Segnius irritant animos demissa per aurem Quàm quæ sunt oculis subiecta fidelibus, & quæ Ipse sibi tradit spectator.*

(2) *Christianorum omnium Religio est, sine scelere. sine macula. vincit. Optimus animus, pulcherrimus Dei cultus est. Troianus equus ideo fefellit, quia Minervam mentitus est. In verbis ne nimium mihi pruri, ad facta abi.*

The French and Spanish Kings, bearing the faire titles of most Christian and Catholike, challenging to be the first sonnes of the Church, and her chiefe champions, hauing now their ambitious thoughts wheeling about the Sphere of Christendome, doe at last con-center in this one point; to take Naples from Frederike the present King, and share it betweene them. The bargaine is already made: the writings drawne: the couenants endorsed: nothing wants but the sealing thereof, which of necessity must be with the bloud of many innocent Christians imployed in that warre. To which end the Spanish forces are ready in *Sicilia*, and the French troopes are aduanced as farre as *Rome*. Till now, they had made a glorious protestation, that this army was prepared against the Turke, but here they plainly discover themselues: their Embassadors come into the Consistory: intimate to the Pope and Cardinalls the league and partage made betweene their masters: and demand their inuestiture in that kingdome, according to the Tenor of their couenants: that they may forsooth (this being done) bend both their forces vpon the common enemy of Christian religion: A thing neuer by them intended. And againe, *Ferdinand* King of *Spaine*, shadowes his treachery towards his kinsman *Frederick*, and his copartcinery with *Leues* 12. vnder colour of necessity: pretending great danger if he did either defend or abandon him. For, to defend him, were to kindle such a fire of warre, as would put all Christendome in combustion, and open a way to the Turke, whose preparations were then very great both by sea and by land: and to abandon him, were to put the kingdome of *Sicilia* into manifest hazard, lying

so neare; and to preiudice his owne right to Naples, in case the ~~line~~ masculine of *Fredericke* failed. And therefore he had taken the middle way, in hope ere long (through the misgouernment of the French) to get the other moiety also: and then he protested so to dispose of the whole, as should be best for the publike good of Christendome.

APHORISME XVI.

THe mother of him that feareth, seldome weepeth. Men must therefore looke before them lest they stumble, and behinde them lest they be overtaken; and on either side, to meet danger which way soeuer it commeth: for no man is in greater perill then he that feares it least. Wherefore, vpon a parley and treaty of peace betweene the besieged and the leaguer, neither part must be secure, but stand vpon like guard of diffidence, as when they were in tearmes of greatest defiance.

Mater timidi non solet flere.

Citius venit periculum cum contemnitur.

Vbi timetur, nihil quod timetur nascitur.

Qui metuit calamitates, rariùs accipit.

Qua posse fieri non putes, metuas tamen.

Caret periculo qui etiam cum tutus est cauet.

Serum est cauendi tempus in medijs malis.

Cauendi nulla est dimittenda occasio.

Probus.

Seneca.

Senec. Sent.

Id. Ibid.

Senec. Oed.

Senec. Sent.

Senec. Thye.

Senec. Sent.

Fabritio Colonna is streightly besieged in *Capua*. He despaires of succours: comes out vpon the bulwarke, and treats ouer the walls with Count *Gaiazzo* about the capitulations of surrender. The souldiers within the towne, vpon expectation of a present accord, keepe a carelesse and slacke guard vpon the walls. They without espying the aduantage, and being greedy of the spoile, giue a sodaine and furious assault; carry the place: sacke it: and takethose prisoners which remained aliue, after the fury of hot bloud was ouer.

APHORISME XVII.



Duerfity bendeth but neuer breaketh a noble and vndaunted courage: he abandons not himfelfe though al the world forfake him: but hopes that when Fortune is come to the Brumall folstice of her frowning, ſhe will be retrograde, and ſhine againe vpon him with the beames of better ſucceſſe. A Prince therefore plunged to the loweſt deepe of diſaſters, muſt beware he ſinke not to the netheermoſt hell of deſpaire, whence is no redemption: but reſerue himſelfe to better fortunes.

Venuſi. Lit.
Tacit. an. J. 4.
Am. Plu. Cic.
Menand.

Plaut. Stich.

Plaut. Rud.
Lucan. I. 4.

Am. in Tacit.
lib. 10.

Lucan. I. 8.
Senec. Oed.
Virg. Æn. 3.
Sen. Med.
Lucan. 4.

Vinite fortes, — Fortiaq; aduerſis opponite pectora rebuſ.
Ereſtum & fidem animi teipſum oſtende.
Il faut ployer plus toſt queromp: & ſe reſeruer à meilleur temps.
Τὸν ἄνδρα ἀδύνατον, καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν ἀλὴν οὐκ ἀνίσταται θύραθεν φέρον.
Decet virum verè generoſum ferretum bona tum mala, ſi lapſus fuerit.
Vir eſt ſapientiſſimus, qui tum quum res ſecunda ſunt, ſe poterit noſcere,
& qui a quo animo patietur, ſibi eſſe peius quàm fuiſe.
Animus æquuſ, optimuſ eſt arummarum condimentum.
Virtutiſ iam ſola fideſ, quam turbine nullo
Excutiet Fortuna tibi. —
Per uno de migliore conſigli che ſi poſſa dar à Prencipe, ò à Prinato, ſtimo
io che ſia, l'accomodar ſi l'animo à qualunq; accidente, ò proſpero ò deſanneturato
che poſſa anneniregli.
— Fiſus cuncta ſibi ceſſura pericula Caſar.
Virtuſq; noſtra neſcit ignauoſ meoſ.
Fata viam inuenient, aderitq; vocatuſ Apollo.
Fortuna opes auferre non animuſ poteſt.
— Maieſtaſ non fracta malis.

Fredericke King of Naples is diſpoſſeſſed of all he held in the realme, by the Victors. He reſolues in hate of the Spaniard, to flee into the armes of the French Kings mercy, and end the remainder of his daies in France, as deſperate of all hope euer to recouer. He deſires ſafe-conduct: obtains it: and failes thither. The King giues him the Duchie of Anjou: and thirty thouſand Duckats of yecerly reueneue for his maintenance. Proſpero Colonna, his truſty friend and ſouldier, had euer aduiſed and importuned him to the contrary: diſſwading this courſe as vnfortunate and deſperate.

Whofe

Whose counsaile if he had followed, the great warres and troubles which after fell out betweene those two great Kings, had made him an open way (if retired into some neuter place, and referued there for some good occasion) to the recovery of his lost kingdom.

APHORISME XVIII.



Here Ambition is Captaine, and Profit carries the Colours, there the Troope of Vices is strong : which breakes through all lets, and makes way against all opposition, of iustice, honestie, promise, oath, or what other religious obligation soeuer. And so ranke is this weed, as it ouer-growes all vertuous and wholesome plants in the garden of Simples, or hearts of sincere contracters. But so venomous withall is the poison thereof when it seizeth vpon man, as no Antidote of former iudgement, worthinesse, courage, or noble qualitie whatsoeuer, is soueraigne enough to cure it.

Hæc taliaq. sunt, quæ rectissimas etiam mentes à recto abstrahunt: & quò utilitas vexillum suum prætulit & explicuit, eò eunt.

Vt nemo doceat scelerrum & fraudis vias, regnum docebit.

Ea fraus quæ sit in re militari, fidem frangendo, pacta non conseruando, nequaquam gloriosa.

*Dulce lucrum ex mendacijs.
Impia sunt Quamuis non rectum, quod inuat rectum puta.
hæc: Magistratibus, non aliter quàm Medicis aduersus pueros & agrotos, mentiri licet.*

La fede vnqua non deue esser rotta.

O data à vn solo, ò data insieme à mille:

E così in vna selua, in vna grotta,

Lontan da le cittadi, e da le ville;

Come dinanzia Tribunali, in frotta

Di Testimon, di Scritte, & di Postille:

Senza iurar, ò segno più espresso,

Basta vna volta che s'habbia promesso.

Gonsaluo the gran Capitano had receiued of free gift many Cattles and Seigneuries from Fredericke king of Naples, to his owne proper vse and inheritance. His master

SI

now

Lip. poll. 4.

Sen. Thyest.

Mac. 1.3. disc.

Eraf. 438.

Senec. sent.

Bod. in rep. 4.

Ariost. Canr.

21.

now sends him to make war vpon him in Calabria: before he sets forward, he dispatcheth a messenger to Frederick, to renounce and redeliuer all those Estates and Castles, which he held by his gift. The King wondring at his noblenesse of spirit, confirms the former grant, and reassures those Estates vpon him. *Gonsaluo* hath good successe in those Calabrese warres: marcheth to *Taranto*: sets downe before it. The young Duke of *Calabria* (eldest sonne to *Fredericke*) is in the towne, committed to the charge of the Count of *Potinga*, who commands there in chiefe. He is forced, after a long and streight siege, to capitulate with *Gonsaluo*; to yeeld vp the citie and fortresse; it within foure moneths they were not releued: taking the oath of *Gonsaluo* vpon the Sacrament, to leaue the young Duke at libertie to go where he listed. The time is expired: the towne deliuered: but neither the feare of God, nor shame of men, could so much in *Gonsaluo*, as the Interest of State, knowing how auailable it might be to his masters designs, to haue the yong Prince in his power. He therefore contrary to his oath, sends him with a strong guard into *Spaine*.

APHORISME XIX.



LL (1) Morallists bold nothing profitable that is not honest: (2) Some Politicks haue inuerted this order, and peruerted the sense, by transposing the tearmes in the proposition: holding nothing honest that is not profitable. Howsoeuer those former may seeme too straight laced, these surely are too loose. (3) For there is a middle way betweene both, which a right Statesman must take.

(1) *Nullum utile est, quod non sit honestum.*

Τὸ κέρδος ἢ τοῦ κέρδους, αὐτὸ δίκαιον ἢ. i. *Lucrum id esse existima quod iustum.*

(2) *Ubique tantum honesta dominanti licent, precario regnatur.*

Ἀνδρὶ τυραννίῃ, ἢ πόλει ἀρχῇ ἐχούσῃ, ἔδωκεν ἄλλοθεν ὃ πρὸς ἐξουσίαν. i. *Viro principiant ciuitati imperium habenti, nihil inhonestum quod utile.*

Cui omnia cum pretio honesta videntur.

Al tempo nostro si ritroua rade,

Cic.off. l.2.

Hesiod.

Seneca.

Thucyd. l.6.

Salust. lug.

Ariost. cant. 16.

A

A cni più del guadagno, altro sia caro.

Τὸ κέρδιον ἐστὶν μέγιστον τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν, καὶ τὸ κέρδιον ἐστὶν τῶν συμφερόντων. *Honestum & iustum in commodo & utilitate ponens.*

Nil turpe ducas pro salutis remedio. —

*Ne credas ponendum aliquid discriminis inter
Vnquenta & corium: Lucri bonus est odor ex re
Qualibet.*

(3) *Civilis virtus, dispositio potius ad virtutem quam virtus.*

Virtutes civiles secundum normam à prudentia illis imposita operantur.

Velimus Principem alto animo, sed tamen eruditum vitia honestis miscere.

Necessarium est in parvis à Iustitia abire, quicquam saluam velint in magnis.

Intuta qua indecora. —

Nunquam discrepet utile à decoro. —

Valentinois sends Vitellozzo and Iohn Baglione to besiege the towne of Piombino. Iacob d' Appiano Lord thereof, and in the French kings protection, leaues the towne and fortress well manned, and goes into France. He desires the King for his owne honour, not to abandon his poore distressed client, and see him perish. The King shadowes his refusall with no veile of excuse, but answers him in plaine tearmes, that though indeed he ought to defend him, and interpose in his businesse, yet he nor would nor could oppose against the Pope, without great losse to himselfe. The poore Signor loseth his Estate.

Plut. Lacon.
apop. de Lyf.

Senec. sent.
Iuven Sat. 14.

Plotin.
Alcy. Platon.
Tacit. Agric.

Plut. in polit.

Tacit. hist. 1.
Anson. f. 92.

APHORISME XX.



T is no Paradox, to be rich with little, nor to be poore with much: because Content is the poore mans riches, and Desire the rich mans pouertie, which is neuer satisfied. For whereas all things in nature are finite and terminable within the limits of their peculiar period; and all humours & affections of the mind are fixed vpon their proper objects, and quietly settled in the center of their fruition; onely that of ambitious Conuise is infinite and endlesse: For it giues as much vexation of soule after the purchase acquired, as there w is at first trauaile in the acquiring; still suggesting and supplying new fiewel to the fire of his desire.

Curt.g. est.
Alex.

Apulde Ma-
gia. l. i.

Por. in Guic.
Senec. ep. 74.

Iuuen. Sat. I.

Ouid.

Boeth. de Con-
l. i. met. 2.

*Difficile est nos contentos esse eo quod offert occasio: quippe sordent pri-
ma quaque, cum maiora sperantur.*

*Omnis cupidus acquirendi, ex opinione inopia venit: nec refert quam
magnum sit quod tibi minus est.*

Dell' hauere ottenute le cose desiderate, s' accrescono sempre i disegni.

*Nemo quos vincit, sed a quibus vincatur aspicit: Et illis non tam in-
cundum est multos videre post se, quam grane aliquem ante se.*

Et quando uberior vitiorum copia? quando

Maior auaritia patris finis?

Creuerunt & opes, & opum furiosa cupido,

Et cum possideant plurima, plura petunt.

Si quantus rapidis flatibus incitus

Pontus verset arenas,

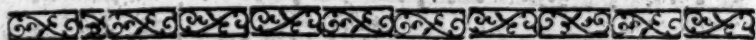
Tantus fundet opes, nec retrahat manum

Plena copia cornu,

Humanum miseris haud ideo genus

Cesset flere querelas.

Lewes 12. is peacefully possessed of the Duchie of Mil-
lan: no one towne thereof is out of his hands, but onely
Cremona and Ghiaradadda, which the Venetians hold by
vertue of the late couenants made betweene them, when
they both entred into the warre vpon this State. The King
is not yet satisfied: those two Peeces are eye-sores to him:
he therefore treats of a peace with the Emperor, both to be
eased of a great deale of charge and danger, as also to ob-
taine the inuestiture of this Duchie, but especially to haue
free power to offend the Venetians, and to reincorporate
those two faire members Cremona and Ghiaradadda into
the body of this State: and then after to take from them
Bergamo, Crema and Brescia, all branches of the same tree,
butlopped off, and quietly possessed by the Venetians,
euer since the time of Philip-Maria Visconti.



APHORISME XXI.



*The vicissitude of things and change of times, be-
gets new counsailes and deliberations in States,
and enforseth necessarily the knitting or dissol-
uing of Alliance between them. What is usefull
to day, may be hurtfull to morrow, as showers
that*

that are seasonable in the Spring, and vnwelcome in the Haruest. Wherefore, to temporise by leuelling and adapting our actions to the occasion present and presented, is requisite policy.

Γινώσκει καὶ ἐστὶν καὶ ἐστὶν ὅτι πᾶσι ἀεὶ ὁ. *Nosce opportunitatem : hac enim re- rum est optima.*

Ἀρμόδιον τοῖς παρὸν ἑκάστη. *i. Presentibus aptè se accommodans.*

Μεταβολὴ τῆς παντὶ. *Omnium rerum est vicissitudo.*

Ἢ ἐχθρὸν ἢ φίλον ἐκ καὶ ἐκ πρὸς. *Amicum vel aduersarium fieri oportet ex temporis commoditate.*

Quò se fortuna, eò se fauor hominum inclinat.

Fidei ambigua, ac semper felicioris parte, potiores habens.

Quamdiu spem subsidij in amicis ac socijs habent, tamdiu cum ijs amicitiam putant seruandam.

Cum fato conuersa fides.

Et cum fortuna statq. cadit q. fides.

Hesiod.

Scholi. Thu.

Adag.

Thucyd. 1.6

Iustin. 1.5.

Di. Cass. 39.

Polyb. 1.4.

Lucan. 1.1.

Ouid.

The Florentines had beene long in the French Kings protection: the Cardinall of Roan his Lieutenant gouernor in Milan, alledged the date thereof to be expired. They sue for a prolongation: he is in hope of peace with the Emperour, and will not heare their suit, or at least propounds such conditions as are vnreasonable. He takes in- to protection the Lucchesi, their enemies. He deales with the Sanesi and Pisans to ioyne together, for the restoring of the banished Medici, and troubling of the State of Florence. He desires to draw from these Allies no small summe of mony. He makes his demands: the matter commeth to stipulation, and there quaieth; because these small States plead vnhability, to pay the money demanded. Meane while the hope of peace betweene him and the Emperour growes cold, and almost desperate. The Emperour himselfe is to goe in person to Rome, to be crowned. He sends to Florence: demands one hundred Lances, and thirty thousand Duckats towards his conuoy, and expence in that iourney: vpon which he will be engaged to vnder- take their protection against all men. The French King fearing lest they should condescend to the Emperours demands, because they despaired of his friendship, inclines to more reasonable conditions than at first he offered, and takes them a-new into his protection.

APHO-

APHORISME XXII.



*S*in things we haue, so in those we doe, each bath his proper tryall, to proue the excellencie thereof in his kinde: Gold by the test, the Diamant by his hardnesse, Pearle by his water: So, the best discoverers of mens minds are their actions: the best director of actions is counsaile: and the best triall of counsailes, is Experience.

Ter. Adelp.

Am. in Tacit.

Cicero.

Salust. Iug.

Polyb. Lt.

Plato. Gor.

Ouid. art. l. i.

Plut. in. Lac.

Apop.

*N*unquam ita quisquam bene subdulla ratione ad vitam fuit,
Quin res, atq. usus, semper aliquid apportet noui,
Aliquid moneat, ut illa quae te scire credas, nescias,
Et quae tibi putaras prima, in experiundo repudies.

*I*l più vero ammaestramento, è quello che si prende dall' esperienza,
Experientia omnium magistrorum praecepta superat.

*O*ptima institutio experientia.

*E*xperientia facit ut vita nostra secundum artes progrediatur, imperitia secundum fortunam.

*I*nstructiores ad operandum, qui periculis & rerum experientia quam qui artis solum praeceptis edocti sunt.

*S*cit bene venator cernis ubi retia tendas,
*S*cit bene qua frendens valle morietur aper:
*A*ncupibus noti frutices, &c.

*E*udamidas audito philosopho qui disseruerat (solum sapientem esse bonum belli ducem) sermo inquit mirificus est, at qui cum dicit fide caret, eo quod illum nunquam circumsonnis tuba. Probat sententiam, sed indicat neminem cum fide loqui de re, quam nullo modo sit expertus.

A confederation is concluded between the French King and the Florentines. They may now boldly renew their warre vpon Pisa: wherein they had for a time surceased, for feare of displeasing this King, or stirring other Princes of Italy against them. The question is now debated in Councell, how to make this warre. Some yeares before vpon the first ouerture of the Pisan rebellion, a graue Councillor of State had aduised them, rather to reduce the rebels to obedience, by length of time, cutting off all meanes of succour or reliefe, and extremity of want, then by assault and expugnation: Because, though it were a longer,

ger, yet it was a surer way, of more hope, and lesse danger or charge. And that in these general troubles and garboiles of *Italy*, by keeping their money in the treasury, they might worke their owne ends vpon all occasions: By seeking to forcethem, they should finde the enterprile very difficult, vpon a city so strongly fortified, and full of obstinate defendants: and when it were brought to the last push, all the neighbour States that were loth it should be lost, would giue them assistance. This graue and prudent aduice was then refused, and the contrary embraced. But now at length that with many yeares experience, great summes exhaulted, and their businesse no whit aduanced, they had found it the best way, they resolue to follow it: and accordingly send all their troopes to waste and spoyle all the corne and graine in the *Pisan* territory: with expresse charge to proceed no further.

APHORISME XXIII.



AS in a particular Purchase, so in partage of a Kingdom, each boundary and butting must precisely be set downe: And the names of places must be taken according to the latest and most vulgar acception: but yet, with an aliàs dictus, and relation of their ancient appellation, to auoid all causes of litigious quarrell, either by the law, or the sword. For such is the wilfulnesse of couetous purchasers and ambitious Princes, as these limits are seldome so perfectly butted out, but that they yeeld matter of difference and occasion of warres to such as these, disposed euer to quarrell.

Nelle differenze d'nomi, & de' confini delle Promincie, s'attende sempre all'uso presente.

Doue s'accompagnano più Principi che pretendono d'esser pari, nascono facilmente ira loro sospetti, & contenzioni.

— *Sic Gallia certius*

Limes ab Ausonijs determinat arua Colonis. (scilicet Rubicon.)

Sic inter Carthaginienses & Cyrenenses, neq. flumen neque mons erat qui fines eorum discerneret: quare eos in magno diuturnoq. bello inter se habuit: tandem sponsionem faciunt uti certo die legati domo profecti, quo

Guiceiard.

Por. in Guic.
l. 7.

Lucan. l. 1.

Salust. lug.

Bod. fol. 607.

Lucan. J. 5.

in loco inter se obuij fuissent, is communis utriusq; populi finis haberetur. Ibique ex pacto Philani fratres vini obrui, quo fines constitui.

Neque enim dubium quin extrema dissideant, nisi media coniungantur.

— Iam voce doloris

Vitandum est, non ex aquo diuisimus orbem.

The Spaniard and the French haue shared the whole kingdome of *Naples* betweene them, according to the articles agreed vpon. They are not in possession one whole yeare, before they grow in difference for the *Capitanato*, a Prouince of that realme. The French will haue it no part of *Puglia*: the Spaniard will not yeeld it a part of *Abruzzo*. In the articles of their agreement the confines and limits of each seuerall Prouince were not so distinctly set downe, as had been requisite, for the clearing of all doubts, and preuention of all future differences betweene those great Princes. It made the matter alio more lingious, becaule it is one of the fruitfulest Prouinces of that kingdome, and fullest of cattle: vpon which, the Prince raiseth yearely a great reuenew. They diuide the *Entrade* by equall portions betweene them, till they haue farther order from the Kings. Meane while, another controuersie no lesse than the former, ariseth about the ancient and moderne appellation of the Prouinces: the Spaniard affirmes, that the *Principato* and *Basilicata*, with the valley of *Beneuentum* (which the French held) were part of *Calabria*: and therefore send their officers to *Tripalda*, to keepe their Courts there, being a place not two miles distant from *Auelli*, where the French officers did reside: the French maintaine the contrary: the matter proceedeth to farther rearmes of quarrell betweene them: *Nemours* the Viceroy, and *Gonsaluo* the Deputy, meet to treat vpon the difference: they disagree, and depart. *Nemours* within few daies after denounceth warre vpon them, in case they quit not their pretended claime, and sendeth his forces to *Tripalda*, to expulse the Spaniard. From which daies incursion, the warre betweene those two great Princes tooke the beginning.

APHO-

APHORISME XXIII.

V Pon (1) certaine notice of some treasonable plot or practice in a towne, the Gouvernour must first assure the place, and then more fully search into the treason, and punish the traitors: either all, for the offence; or the ring-leaders for example. Seuerity in this case is but iustice: Lenitie puts all in hazard. (2) Wherefore against such intestine ambush, we must first take vp the buckler of safetie, and then draw out the sword of iustice.

(1) *Securitati consulas antequam vindicta.*

Discordia retrahere Ducem, destinationis certum, ne nona moliretur nisi prioribus firmatis.

Adhibito temporis spacio in consilium, quod minimè locum parabit patientia, ad puniendum nos conferre oportet.

(2) *Ne' Gouverni, il premio è uile, mala pena è necessaria.*

Cotys, increpanti seueritatem eius, & furorem non regnum appellanti: At mens (inquit) hic furor subditos sanos reddit.

Perfuga Romani missi, vergis in comitio casti, & de saxo deiecti.

In Felisternos, veteres cines: grauitur sanatum est, quòd toties rebellassent: Mari deiecti, Senatus abductus.

At paucos, quibus hac rabies auctoribus arsis, Non Caesar sed pœna tenet.

Vincite ferro, verborum vis extrahat secreta mentis.

Dùm paucis sceleratis parcis, Bonos omnes is perditum.

Les Princes & Magistrats, qui affectent la gloire d'estre misericordieux, versent sur leur teste la peine que les coupables ont meritée.

Adiucendos ex duce metum, sublati seditionis auctoribus.

Paucis interfectis, in reliquos data venia.

Autores seditionis ad supplicium postulabas.

Decem præcipui auctores.

Decimatio Galba.

Principibus seditionis securi percussis.

Tacit. an. 11.

Tacit. an. 12.

Plut. de his qui serò pun.

Rag. Stat. 1.9.

Apop. Eracl.

Bod. è. Liui.

Liui. 18.

Lucan. 1.5.

Senec. Hipol.

Salust.

Bod. rep. 1.4.

Tacit. an. 1.

Idem. an. 12.

Tacit. hist. 1.

Thucyd. 3.

Tacit. hist. 1.

Mac. 1.3. e. 16.

Pazzi the Florentine Commissary in Arezzo hath certaine intelligence, that diuers principall citizens had secretly conspired with Vitellozzo to betray the towne. He will not belecue that the hearts of so many could be poisoned with so pestilent a venome of treason. He perswades himselfe that the authority of the name publike, would

T t

supply

supply his want of greater forces ; and therefore without better strengthening of himselfe, or providing for suppression of the rest of the conspirators, he onely arrested and committed two of them. The people are in tumult through the instigation of the other complices, and generall hate they beare the Florentines. They rise in armes : rescue the prisoners: imprison *Pazzi* himselfe, with the other officers: send presently for *Vitellozzo*, and stand out in manifest rebellion.

APHORISME XXV.

Much (1) hurt hath often beene done by small contemptible creatures : a great towne in Spaine undermined by Comies ; another in Thessaly by Moles : in Affricke the people were forced to quit their countrey by Locusts : out of Giaros they were driven by Rats. (2) Like hurt doth the contemptible multitude in a State meere Popular, upon any case that comes into deliberation: because there is a disparity of prudence in their vnderstandings, and yet a paritie of power in their voices, by which all great affaires are carried and resolved.

Plin. 3. c. 39.

Plin. Pan.

Demost. Oly.

Virg. Aen. 1.

Terent.

Lip. anal. 3.

Tacit. an. 1.

Auson. fol. 92.

Thueyd. 1. 1.

Xen. Athen. resij.

(1) *A Caniculis suffossum in Hispania oppidum : a Tulpis in Thessalia, &c.*

(2) *In publicis Consilijs nil tam inaequale, quam ipsa aequalitas : Nam cum sit impar omnium prudentia, par omnium ius est.*

Tam mutabile est vulgi ingenium, ut quid constanter vellet aut nollet, haud facile intelligi potest.

Scinditur incertum studia in contraria vulgus.

At quis, aio : Negas, nego. (Vt Parasitus apud Poetam, sic vulgus.)

Hoc locum non habet in Principe, qui potens est rerum, & ad suam sententiam omnes trahit.

Tarda sunt quae in commune exposcuntur.

Aequalitas ordinem nescit pati.

Quum in suffragijs dandis omnes sint aequales, suo quisque commodo vacat, commune bonum ab omnibus perdi.

Et tunc super aqua, aeterna, membra. In populo ignorantis, confusio, malitia.

It is debated in the Councell at Florence, how to assure the Citadell of *Arezzo*, and to recover the towne from

Vitel-

Vitellozzo and the rest of the conspirators. The wiser and better sort are of opinion, that nothing is more necessary in this case than speed: that *Vitellozzo*, *Baglione*, *Medici*, *Petrucchi*, *Orfini*, and the rest of that practice, could not so dainly draw their troopes thither; because the Mine of the conspiracie tooke fire, and was discovered sooner by many daies than they expected, or their prouisions were ready for the enterprise desseigned: it was therefore most expedient for the State, presently to send thither their army which lay encamped before *Vicopisano*: for, so should the fruit of the enemies plot wither before it were ripe, and themselves faile of their expectation. But they of the popular sort, who then bore chiefe office and sway in the Councell, and were the greater number by farre, vncapable of any sound reason, and vntactable to any good motion, affirme the cause of *Arezzo* to be so sleight, and the recouery so faisible, as the Pelants neare about that towne were sufficient to regaine it: And that those other Counselors had giuen that their aduice, out of a dislike they had of the present forme of gouernment, and because they would still haue *Pisa* hold out in rebellion. These men ouer-rule the businesse: no forces are sent, nor order taken for the recouery. The Cittadell is likewise lost: so is *Cortona*, *Castiglione*, *San Souino*, and all other their townes and castles in the valley of *Chiana*.

APHORISME XXVI.

H (1) was one of his policies, out of whose Actions sprang many of the Florentines Axiomes, To giue most assurance of his faith and friendship to that man, whom he first meant to deceiue and despoile of his State. (2) He therefore that vpon such trust disarmes himselfe, and puts the sword into the others hand, is guilty through his foolish credulity, of his owne proper ruine. For such actions as these, are plaine persidie in the one, and meere madnesse in the other.

Per maximam amicitiam, maxima fallendi copia.

Tt 2

Salust. Iug.

Pom.

Tacit.an.1.
Lip.poll.5.
Cic.Philip.
Sen.Theb.
Sen.de Tran.
Senec.Sent.
Tacit.hist.3.
Senec.Sent.

Pompeius imagine pacis, Lepidus specie amicitiae deceptus.

(2) *Pax viro Principi intolerabilis, quæ labem ei aut ignominiam offert.*

Pax ea sit, non pactio seruientis. Pace suspecta tutius bellum.

In seruilitatem cadere de regno, graue est.

Quandoque bora momentum est inter solium & alienigenam.

Ita habeas amicum, posse ut fieri inimicum putes.

Pacem et conditiones abnebant, discrimen ac dedecus ostentantes, & fidem in libidine victoris.

Habe amicum, quasi inimicum potentia.

Valentinois marcheth with his army from Rome: he pretends the expugnation of *Camerino*; whither he had sent the Duke *Grauna* and *Liuerotto da Fermo* before, to ravage & spoil the country thereabout. But indeed he designs by some treacherous stratageme to surprise the Dukedome of *Vrbine*. He is come to the confines of *Perugia*: he demands of *Guidobaldo* the present Duke, certaine peeces of Cannon & troupes of men for this pretended siege of *Camerino*. The Duke grants his demand, in an assured confidence of his friendship and truth, because he had lately compounded all differences with him and the Pope his father, and therefore saw now no cause of suspicion or apprehension of feare. *Valentinois* had no sooner disarmed the credulous Duke, but he leadeth all his army with a long and sharp march, (scarce allowing them time to feed) and neuer staies till he come to *Cagli* a towne of the Duchy. He sets downe before it, takes it, and in short space after, all the rest of that State, except onely the two forts of *S. Leo* and *Maiuolo*. The poore Duke, with his nephew the Prouost of Rome, are forced to flee the country in pesants attire. Againe: after *Valentinois* had effected this exploit, he sets vpon *Camerino*: makes *Iulio da Varano* Lord thereof belecue, that he will yeeld to some good composition with him. *Varano* comes to him to treat of the accord. During the treaty, he is treacherously intrapped with his two sons, and the Towne surprised. This done, he instantly stranglenth the father and the children. *Vitelozzo*, *Petrucci*, and the *Orsini*, his old souldiers and faithfull followers, are amazed and affrighted at the action, and abhorre the actor. Their Estates likewise border neare vpon his, and therefore fearing like measure, they fall from his seruice, and combine against him.

APHORISME XXVII.



He (1) neighbourhood to danger is dangerous : And therefore men must seeke to quench the fire in the next house, though it be their enemies, lest it come to their owne. (2) But such generall desires are often thwarted and made frustrate ; because the ends of those few from whose means and authority such actions must haue their life and performance, are commonly contrary to the wills of those many that make the motion.

(1) *Aliquid mali propter vicinum malum.*

Decebat vos praeipue qui finitimi estis, quique secundum nos periclitabimini, ista prospicere.

Si neglexissemus vos, ipsi periculum adiremus.

At illi qui statum paucorum agitabant, posteaquam vulgo rem communicauerant, rursus & sibiipsis & plerisque sodalium prospiciebant.

Propria quoque causa stimulabant.

(2) *Rare volte succede quel che è desiderato da molti : perche dependendo communemente gl' effetti dell' azioni humane dalla volontà di pochi, & essendo l' intentione & i fini di questi, quasi sempre diversi dall' intentione & i fini di molti: possono difficilmente le cose succedere altrimenti, che secondo l' intentione di coloro chi danno loro il moto.*

The feat done vpon *Vrbine* and *Camerino*, and the murther executed vpon *Varano* and his Sonnes by *Valentino*, make other neighbour Princes and States of *Italy* to look better about them. *Vitellozzo*, *Petrucci*, and the *Orfini*, send the Cardinall *Orfini* to the French King, then at *Asti*, to complaine of his ambition, treachery, and cruelty. The Florentines, and many other States & Princes, come either in person, or by their Agents, to make like complaint to his Maiestie, & sue for redresse. The King is much incensed against *Valentino*: vowes a iourney in person, to tame the pride of such monsters in nature as was he, and the Pope his father : protests, the seruice to be as holy and meritorious, as if it were against the Turke himselfe. But this heat of the kings zeale is quickly cooled : For the Cardinall of *Roan*, desirous to aduance some of his creatures to church dignities.

Plaut.

Thucyd. l. 6.

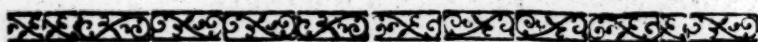
Idem, fol. 160.

Thucyd. l. 8.

Tacit. An. 3.

Guicciard.

dignities, and thinking it a step to the papacy whereto he aspired, and a great honour to be accounted protector of the sea of *Rome*, by all possible meanes labours the King to the contrary. Besides, the King feares the Popes ioyning with the Emperor against his comming into *Italy*. He suspects the Venetians will combine with them both: and lastly, he hath not yet ended his difference with the Swisse, about his pretension to *Belinsone*: nor hopes of any good meature from the King of Spaine, with whom he is now entred into open warre, about the parting of *Naples*. In all which considerations, he forgets his former vow, and promise made to the Plaintiffes: accepts of the message sent him from the Pope by *Troccies*: & receiues *Valentinois* coming vnto him, with all demonstration of honour and fauour.



APHORISME XXVIII.



Enter into no warre but that which is iust. No warre can be iust, vnlesse it be for the sauing of thy honour or estate. Wherefore when two Princes are in armes, and neither of these two leuels in any danger of preiudice, engage thy selfe with neither: for in this case, it is better to be a looker on, than to be an abettor.

Alex. Dario
apud Curt.
Cic. rep. l. 3.

Lip. pol. l. 3.

Dion. Cassi.
Lucan. l. 3.

Tacit. An. 1.

Repello bellum non infecto.

Nullum bellum à ciuitate optima suscipitur, nisi aut pro fide, aut pro salute.

Maneas in defensione, nec hoc praetextu pedem manumue moneas, ut aliena apprehendas.

Tutum est, medium inter duos, expectare belli euentum.

Pugnaces dubium Parthi tenuere fauorem

Contenti fecisse duos.

Mente ambigua fortunam seditionis aliena speculabantur.

The diffidence and ieaiousie which the *Orfini* and their adherents had of *Valentinois*, doth now breake out to an open warre. These men enter into a confederation-defensue, for themselues and the Duke of *Vrbine*, against *Valentinois* onely. And fearing to offend the French King by this league,

league they offer him to be bound to serue him in person with all their forces, in any of his warres, whensoever he shall please to employ them. They seeke also by all meanes the fauour and consent of the Venetians. To the state of Florence they offer the recouery of Pisa, in case she will declare for them, and enter into this combination. The French hath not yet consented: the Venetians will giue no answer, till they see which way the French inclineth. But the Florentines, holding both the one side and the other for their capitall enemies, vterly refuse to be comprised.

APHORISME XXIX.

IN an ancient Inheritance and well settled State, fortresses are onely needfull vpon the Frontiers, and against the bordering enemy: But in the bowels of a country they are vsclesse, and in some cases preiudiciall and dangerous. If therefore a Prince be forced to abandon his State, and giue way to necessity, and will euer hope to returne when the times are more propitious; let him raze all these in-land forts before his departure: He shall finde his returne and restitution more easie.

In finibus aut contra hostem, haud valde artes spernem, in medijs & contra ciuem, valde.

Sanè arces non tam firma compedes quàm censentur: ad exiguum motum valida, fragiles ad magnum.

Arces extruuntur duplici de causa: ad hostes arcendos, ad subditos compescendos, & in officio continendos: ad priorem usum non necessaria, ad posteriorem inutiles & noxia.

Arces & propugnacula cinem ignauum efficiunt: O muliebres latebras (exclamat Cleomenes) de oppido arte & natura munitissimo.

Inde Lycurgum Lacedæmonijs arces & propugnacula demisse.

Solummodo prodesse queunt arces aliqua in finibus impem: locis praesertim maritimis posita, ad sustinendos hostes per dies aliquot, donec exercitus instruantur.

The Duke of Urbine had beene driuen out of his State by Valentinois, and was fled to Venice: during his absence the fortresse of S. Leo, a peece of great importance, and which

Lip. pol. l. 4.

Id. Ibid.

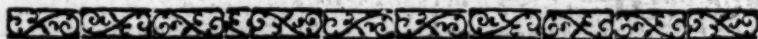
Mac. l. 2. dif. 24.

Bod. rep. 5.

Ibid.

Mac. l. 2. dif. 24.

which held longest for him, returns now againe to his obedience. Vpon the first intimation of this good newes, he returns home by sea, and quickly recouers the whole Duchie, some few castles excepted. Meane while *Valentino* accordeth with the *Orsini*, & their colleagues: and sends them with all their troops to attempt *Vrbine* the second time, in assurance of good successe, & speedy preuailing, by reason of those castles within the Duchie which still held good for him. The distressed Duke is distracted betweene hope and feare, vndersolued whether to affie in the confident protestations of his subiects, who offered to liue and die in his seruice, or to auoid the tempest of so dangerous a warre. At last the feare of danger ouercomes his hope of assistance, and forces him flee the second time to *Venice*. But before his departure, hauing learned by experience the danger of these inland fortresses, he razeth them all that were in that State, saue only *S. Leo*, and *Maiuolo*.



APHORISME XXX.



Here is no security against a reconciled enemy, and one of notorious perfidy; but diffidence, and holding him out at the sword's point. For if thy credulitie bring thee within distance of his reach, and that he see thy life lie open without good guard, his malice and reuenge straight take the aduantage, and play their parts: making the Act tragical, and the Scene bloody.

Ho. Ody. B.
August.

Sen. Sent.
Mur. in. Tac.
Tac. Agric.
Id. An. 15.

Jac. hist. 13.
Am. Plut. Gr.
Id. Demet.

Pulchra loquentes, iſdem in peſtore praua ſtruebant.
Nocendi cupiditas, implacatus & implacabilis animus, feritas bellandi,
libido dominandi: hæc ſunt quæ iure culpantur in bello.

Cum inimico nemo in gratiam ſuo rediſ.

Qui iniuriâ ſuo ſit, interdum ignoſcere: qui iniuriâ laſerit, nunquam.

Optimum in præſentia ſtatim, reponere odium.

Deſtinatio vindictæ ſi facultas oriatur.

Simulacres Mutianus callide, eoque implacabilis nutriebat.

Il n'y a ſoyuy loyauté en des cœurs deſireux de vengeance.

Quand l'Ambition ſeule gouverne les hommes, on remarque encores quelque courtoisie en leur ſolie: Mais, ſi l'Auariance & la vengeance ſ'y meſlent, leur tragedies ſont ſanglantes & du ſont furienſes.

Valentino

Valentino finds the way stopped to his ambitious designs, vnlesse he can vnknit the knot of the late combination against him. To worke which his purpose, he holds it fittest to deale with one of them apart, and of these, him that he thought the weakest in iudgement to discouer his falshood, and the strongest in power to draw the rest. Such a one he held *Paul Orsini*. Him therefore hee calls to *Imola*, vnder safe-conduct, and sends the Cardinall *Borgia* in pledge for him. With him he vseth many faire and flattering insinuations. He complaineth to him, not so much because he & his fellowes (who had faithfully serued him a long time) did now vpon vaine surmises and suspitions forsake him; as of his own ignorance, that had not known how to carry himselfe towards so many and so brane souldiers, nor how to preuent such future iealousies and misconstructions. Hee hopes that this diffidence growne in them without iust cause giuen on his part, should beget betweene them and him a perpetuall and indissoluble conjunction: hee protesteth, that hauing now better opened the eyes of his vnderstanding by this experience, he must and doth ingenuously acknowledge, that by their good direction & valour alone he was come to the great fortune and reputation which he now hath: and therefore is most desirous to returne to a true friendship, and renew the old league and confederation betweene them: and offers for performance to giue them what caution and securitie they should demand. *Paul Orsini* credits these his dissembled protestations: deales with his kinsman the Cardinall *Orsini*, and drawes him to accept of the motion. These two, with *Pandolpho Petrucci*, perswade *Vitellozzo* and *Iohn Baglione* to yeeld to an accord. The articles concluded are these: A cancellation of all fore-passed wrongs, and an extirpation of all conceiued hatred on both sides: a confirmation on his part, of their former entertainment; and obligation on theirs, to goe as his souldiers to the recouery of *Vrbine*: but with this *prouiso*, for their better securitie, that they should not be bound to goe personally aboue one of them at once; nor should the Cardinall be bound to make his residence at *Rome*. The cause of *Bologna* to be referred ouer by way

of transaction, to the free arbitration of *Valentinois*, the Cardinall *Orfini*, and *Petrucchi*. The accord thus made, they presently recouer him all the Duchie of *Vrbine*, with the towne and prouince of *Camerino*. They encampe before *Sinigaglia*: they take both the towne and castle. While they are thus warring for the aduancement of *Valentinois* his affaires, himselfe is as busie plotting their destruction. He dislodgeth from *Imola* to *Cesena*: thence to *Fano*: from hence he sends word to *Vitellozzo* and the *Orfini*, that the next day he would come with his owne troupes, and lodge in *Sinigaglia*: and therfore wills them that they draw their companies out of the towne, and dispose them in the suburbs and villages thereabouts. His pleasure is fulfilled: their foot are billeted in the suburbs: their horse are quartered in other places not farre off. Next day *Valentinois* commeth: hee is met vpon the way by *Paul Orfini*, the Duke of *Grauina*, *Vitellozzo*, and *Liuerotto da Fermo*. He receiues them with great semblance of loue and fauour. They attend him to the gates of the citie, where they finde all his troupes at a stand, in strong array, and greater number than they expected. Their hearts begin to misdoubt, and to prompt them that they are betrayed, yet they put on the best countenance, offer to take leaue, & returne to their troupes. He pretends farther cause of necessary conference with them, and drawes them (being now too late to refuse) into the towne. Here he cauled them to be seized on, and sent out his troupes presently to defeat and rife their companies. Next day he strangleth *Vitellozzo*, and *Liuerotto da Fermo*. Like dispatch he made within few dayes after of *Paul Orfini*, and the Duke of *Grauina*.

APHORISME XXXI.

Seldome (1) shall we see such a father as *Alexander*, without such a sonne as *Valentinois*: nor such a sonne but of such a father. For the plant is known by the fruit: and as is the egge, so is the bird that hatcheth it: (2) Tet as in Physicke, wholesome vs is made of poison

poison and venemous things; so in policie men may learne by the villanous and bloudie carriage of such mens actions, how to manage a iust and lawfull cause in doing execution vpon rebels and traitors: Namely, to do nothing to the halfes: but when the sword of iustice is drawne, to throw the scabberd into the fire.

(1) *Alexander le Pape ne faisoit rien de ce qu'il disoit: son fils ne disoit rien de ce qu'il faisoit.*

Katō vōgō rōdō oōv. Mali corui malum ouum.

Crucltu pater magis, an puer improbus ille?

Improbu ille puer, crudelu tu quoque pater.

Ex pestimo genere ne catulum quidem habendum.

Domitij vix fuit, negantis quicquam ex se & Agrippina nisi detestabile & malo publico nasci potuisse.

(2) *Immo nec in iudicium quosdam Proditores adducere oportet, si necessitas ita postulat: sed hostium loco illicò panire.*

Tolle omnes: nam profecto parentes liberiq; eorum qui interfecit, & propinqui, & amici, in locum singulorum succedunt: His penam si tui potes donabis: si minus, temperabis.

Vindicta princeps: Non tua proprie, sed reip. hac vindicta.

Testudinis carnes aut edas, aut non edas. (n.) Si modicè edantur ventris tormina faciunt, si copiosè, leniunt. Sic supplicia, &c.

Pod. rep. 15.

Eras. Adag.

Allusio è Poeta.

Cusp. de Max

Sueto. Nero.

Dion. 58.

Sen. de Cle.

Lip. pol. 1.4.

Eras. Adag.

A post is dispatched to Rome from the sonne to his father, with newes of the stratageme at Sinigaglia. The Pope keepest it secret: sends for the Cardinall Orsini then in towne, to come to Court. He repaires to the Vatican vpon the first summons, in assurance of the late accord, and affiance in the Popes promise. At his comming he is arrested, and committed prisoner to the Castle S. Angelo. The Pope meaneith to make all sure, and to lay hands vpon all the other heads of the family Orsini. Rinaldo the Archbishop of Florence, with the Abbot of Aluiano, and Iacopo Santa Croce, are all sodainly apprehended in their houses, and imprisoned. The Cardinall after twenty daies durance, dies; of sicknes, as it was giuen out, but of poison, as it was verily and generally beleueed. The Pope makes present seizure of all their lands.

APHORISME XXXII.

Some aduantages in battell are personall : as better men and horse, or more numbers of both. Some are reall: as more money, or better armes. Some are formal: as better discipline in gouerning, and better order in fight. And some are accidentall, as the Sunne, the winde, and the place. Now among all these, the two last (1) (of better order in fight, (2) and better ground to fight on) are not the least meanes of obtaining the victorie.

Lip. pol. 1.4.

Pirr. in Flo.

Veget. 1.1.

Xenoph.

Cusp. fol. 97.

Veget. 1.3.

Lip. pol. 1.4.

Veget. 1.3.

Xenophon.

Liub. bel. Pun.

Tacit. An. 12.

(1) *Disciplina est senera conformatio militis ad robur & virtutem. Qua quidem nunc dierum, non dicam languet apud nos, sed obijt: Neque mala, sed nulla est.*

U quam facile erat orbis imperium occupare, aut mihi Romanis militibus, aut me rege Romanis!

In omni pralio non tam multitudo & virtus indocta, quam ars & exercitium, solent prestare victoriam.

Ordinatus exercitus, incundissimum aspectum amicis, molestissimum quiddam hostibus est.

Quod de Alexandro Senero dicitur, Particam expeditionem tanta disciplina, tanta veneratione egisse, ut non milites sed Senatores ire dicerentur.

(2) *Amplius potest locus saepe quam virtus.*

Loci ratio habenda, virum inimicis an tibi videatur accommodus.

Si equitatu audemus, campos debemus optare: si peditatu, loca eligere angusta, fossis, paludibus, vel arboribus impedita.

Multum interest inter Ducem locorum peritum & imperitum.

Scipio pro se esse loci angustius ratus, & quod in arcto pugna Romano aptior.

Vi militum inferior, locorum fraude prior.

The Count of Meleso, the Princes of Salerno and Bisignano, with all their forces, are encamped before Terranuova. Don Vgo di Cardona with eight hundred foot Spanish, one hundred horse, and eight hundred other foote, Sicilians and Calabrians come to the succours. The Count hath notice hereof: riseth from before the towne, and goeth to encounter them. The Spaniards march through a narrow plaine, strengthened with hils on the one side, and a riuer on the other. The French accoast them along the

the water which was betweene the armies, and being farre stronger than the enemy, is desirous to draw him to fight. The Spaniard keepes on his march, in good array of bat-taile, and holds his aduantage of the place. Meleto, percei-uing he should not impeach their getting into Terranuoua, without the hazard of a battell; passeth the riuer with his troopes, to giue vpon them. Where, by the good and close order of the Spanish foot, and the difficulty of getting vp the riuers banke, the French are defeated, put to rout with great losse, and the towne releued.

APHORISME XXXIII.



Example (1) is of greater force than Precept. (2) It therefore behoueth a Generall, as well to be a good souldier, as an able director: that by his presence and personall performance of what he commands others, they may be encouraged to endure any paines, or undergoe any danger. For vpon his actions and vertue especially, depends the successe of all the seruice. Whereupon the Greeke Leader truly inferred, that an army of sheepe led by a Lion was better then an army of Lions led by a sheepe.

(1) *Princeps optimus faciendo docet: cumq; sit imperio maximus, exemplo maior est.*

Consilia frigus, exemplis mouemur omnes. *It is, boine of low*

Quando il signor è buono i subditi auco *eccitate, when their tor*

Fa buoni: Ch'ogni vnincita chi regge. *indulge the law a tuanced*

Es eccitati al paterno effempio *honour, be the meice*

Aguzzauano al sangue, il ferro è l'ira. *bad / they are due with*

L'effempio all' opre ardite e pelegrine

Spinge i compagni.

Non tam imperio opus, quam exemplo.

(2) *Non so se meglio Duca o Cavaliero.*

Ἀριστοτελὲς βασιλεὺς τ' ἀγαθὸς καὶ τῆς τ' ἀλχιμῆς. Simul & bonus Impera-

tor, & strenuus miles.

Strenuus militis & boni Imperatoris officia simul exequabatur.

Plus in Duce repones, quam in exercitu.

Vnus homo pluri, quam vniuersa ciuitas.

Vellet. 1.

Adag.

Ariostagg. 2.

Tasso. Ca. 9.

Tasso. Ca. 18.

Plin. paneg.

Tasso.

Himer.

Salbel. Cat.

Prob. de Epa.

Tac. de mer.

Ger.

Mac. dif. l. 2.

Plus confidi exiftimo egregio Imperatori, fi tempus habeat ad instruendum militem, quam firmo fed inſolenti exercitui, cui tumultuarius aliquis dux præficitur.

Rag. Stat. è Plut.

E' meglio un effercito di Cerui, guidato da un Leone, che di Leoniguidati da un Ceruo.

Plaut.

Vbi summus Imperator non adest ad exercitum, citius quod factum non opus fit, quam quod factum est opus.

Rag. stat. Plu.

Προβάτων ὁδοὺν ὁπάτης, ἀν πομπῇ ἀπὸ. Vfus nullus ouium, si Pastor absit.

Xer. in Hero.

Debes tu qui illorum rex es, duplicem præstare quam singuli eorum.

Silius. l. 3.

Audebit primus sumpſisse labores,

Primus iter carpsisse pedem.

Lucan. l. 9.

Monſtrat tolerare labores, non iubet.

Liu. de Val. Cor.

Facta mea non dicta milites ſequi volo: Nec diſciplinam, ſed exemplum etiam à me ſumere.

Lucan. l. 9.

—— *Primus arenas*

Ingediar, primusque gradus in puluere ponam

Dux an miles eam.

Lucan. l. 5.

—— *Ignave venire*

Te Caſar non ire iubet.

Polyb. de Hannib. l. 9.

Interim ſeipſum exemplum præbet, cum in conſiciendis admouendiſque ad machina machinis, tum in adueniendis locis ubi magis imminens periculum offendeſatur: omnia denique, non ſecus egit, quam ſi nihil inter ſe atque militem intereſſet.

Nemours, Vice-roy of Naples, with all his forces, comes downe to *Matera*, not farre from *Barletta*. Hee quarters his troupes in places round about, to cut off all conuoy of victuall, or ſupply of men, that might come to the ſuccour of the Spaniard in the towne: where the Souldier was much afflicted with want, and infected with peſtilence. In which extremity the Spaniſh patience and perſeuerance was great, through the remarkable vertue and diligence of *Gonſaluo*: who ſometimes putting them in hope of a freſh and ſpeedy ſupply of two thouſand Dutch ſoor, ſometimes of other ſuccours, and otherwhiles giuing out, that if they would haue but a little patience, he would quit the place, and retire with them ſafe by ſea to *Taranto*: but moſt of all by his owne example, in vndergoing and enduring with a cheerefull countenance, all the extremities of want and warre in his owne perſon; he wearied and wore out the Vice-royes forces, who through diſorder and miſgouernment were ſhortly forced to quit the ſiege: and he heartned and hardned his owne ſoul-

souldiers, to stand it out to the last, and to become of men almost vanquished, victorious ouer their enemies.

APHORISME XXXIIII.

Noble and generous spirits strue as much not to be ouercome in courtesie, as the valiant and couragious not to be ouerthrowne in combat. Hence it is, that nothing more obligeth the promiser to an vnfeyned and free performance, then the free and confident assurance, which the promittee professeth to haue in the word and offer made him. Whereas on the contrary, many haue taught others to deceiue, while they haue appeared too fearefull and ieaalous of being deceiued.

Hominem homini obsequentem vltiò nihil aliud facit quàm fides, beneuolentia, integritatisq; et iustitia opinio.

Qui timet amicum, amicus ut timeat docet.

Qui timet amicum, vim non nouit nominis.

Vult sibi quisque credi, & habita fides ipsam plerumq; obligat fidem.

Quorum autem mihi longo vsu cognita fides, quid est quod non ijs & committi & credi posse putem?

Qui timide rogat docet negare.

Inde Augustus quendam timide petentem ioco corripuit: quòd sic sibi libellum porrigeret quasi Elephantò stipem.

Multis fallere docuerunt, dum timent falli.

Qui se suspectos sentiunt, et si falsò, conspiracyonem ineunt.

Sic optimates Tegeatarum falsam suspicionem metu coacti veram effecere.

Philip Arch-duke of Austria, heire apparant to the Roman Emperor, and kingdomes of Spaine, will needs take his iourney thither, from the Lowcountries, through France, though his Councell perswade the contrary. He sends to the French King for a free passage, and obtaines it. Diuers Peeres of France are sent into Flanders for pledges, till Philip should safely arriue on the borders of Spaine. At his very first setting forward he giues order, that all those Noble men should be set free, and sent home againe; to shew how much he affied in the honour of the King, and sincere

Plut. Re. ger.

Senec. Sent.

Idem. Ibid.

Liui. l. 22.

Cic. ad frat.

Seneca.

Sueton. Jul.
126.

Ib. Ibid.

Sue. in Calig.

Polyzn. l. 3.

sincere performance of his word : the King requites him with correspondency of like assurance in his loue : giues order for his entertainment in all places where he should passe, with all possible demonstration of respect and welcome : himselfe receiues him at Blois, in all magnificent and royall manner. Where after some few daies spent, part in feasting and triumphs, and the rest in treating and concluding other affaires of more weightie importance, he departeth the Court with much satisfaction, and arriuech in Spaine, in very good safety.

APHORISME XXXV.



HN (1) professions either Ciuill or Military, those are more honourable which haue greater charge, or require greater knowledge. As to rule a State, is more noble than to gouerne a towne : and this, more eminent than to order a family. In which respect, though the true end of horse and foot be one and the same, to defend a right and redresse a wrong, (and per case that of foot be generally more usefull:) (2) Yet this of horse is the more honourable seruice. Because his vertue and knowledge is exercised, as well in managing and defending of his horse as of himselfe : vpon whose safe-gard his life and honour depends, as well as in immediate defence of his owne person.

Lip. pol. l. 5.

Tacit. l. 1.

Lip. l. 5.

Veget. l. 1.

Xen. Cy. l. 4.

Xen. Cy. p. 2. d. 18.

Arist. pol. l. 4.

(1) *Vbi bona & composita militia, pedes prauales : apud rudes aut barbaros contra.*

Ab equite & pedite, omne bellicis negotijs profuit robur : & sine quibus, quamuis egregia sint illa consilia, sunt tamen inualida.

Ad pugnam equites, ad oppida propugnanda aut expugnanda aptiores sunt pedites.

Montanis locis & impeditis, quasi nullus equorum usus : ex quo intelligitur magis necessarios pedites, qui possunt ubique prodesse.

(2) *Neque quisquam ex praclaris Persis, usquam pedes incedere sua quidem sponte videbatur.*

Antea patrius mos erat, ne viderentur tum proficisci pedites alius cuiusquam rei gratia, quam ut equites optimi efficerentur.

In equite apud antiquos omne robur : Quia ratio ordinandi militiam pedestrem illis incognita fuit.

Ego

Ego utrò sequitare didicero, quum in equo fuero, Hippocentauri quasunt faciam: quaternis tunc oculis coniectabo, antribus quaternis præsenscam, &c.

Xen. Cyr. l. 4.

A trumpet is sent to *Barletta*, where the Spanish and Italian forces lay, about the ransome of certaine French prisoners, lately taken in the defeat at *Rubos*. Some words passe from the Italian men at armes, in scorne and disparagement of the French Cauallery: which the trumpet reporteth at his returne. Answer is made by the French, and replication returned them backe againe. The challenge passeth betweene them, and is accepted. The number of combattants are thirteene on a side: the fight on horsebacke: the lists are appointed, midway betweene *Barletta*, *Andria*, and *Quadrato*. The Generalls on both parts assigne diuers troupes of horse to a certaine number, and equall distance from the lists, to preuent ambush or any other aduantage. They encourage their champions, and commend them to their fortune. The signall is giuen: they charge with a noble and braue courage on both sides, and vndeterminable oddes on either. They betake them to their swords, and vse them with no lesse prooue of emulous prowesse: the earth is couered with shiuers of armour, and shedding of bloud, yet still the victory in doubtfull ballance. *Guglielmo Albimonte* is vnhorsted by a Frenchman: who, more eager to pursue his death, than saue his owne life, is slaine by *Francesco Salomone* an Italian. *Albimonte* thus rescued, together with *Miale* who was likewise vnhorsted, draw forth their long broaches which they had brought for the purpose, wherewith they kill some, and gall most of the French horses: and by this aduantage onely get the victory of their enemies. They take the rest prisoners, and returne with all military triumph and applause into *Barletta*.

APHORISME XXXVI.

History (1) is the Kalendar of time, and hath her Criticke dayes as well as Physicke: whereby conceit forehopeith of the good successe of an affaire, as Art fore iudgeth of the decrease of a disease. For we haue it exemplified by many instances, that certaine dayes haue bene perpetually succesfull to certaine persons or nations: (2) Which, howsoeuer some men may interpret to Fate and necessity, or others to some other cause of circumstance or accident; yet it is the part of a wise Leader to make vse thereof, and to nourish and cherish that former conceit in the common souldier, because he shall thereby the better encourage him to an alacrity of spirit, and an hope of the victory.

Senec. Herc.
Maiol. Col. 4.

Probus.
Plur. Camil.

Mac. l. i. c. 14.

Liui. l. 10.

Mac. l. i. c. 14.

(1) *Cui pariter dies & fortuna fuit.*

Carolo quinto Imperatori vigesimam quartam diem Februarij fuisse euentibus omnibus memorabilem; quod si a sit natus, illa Gallorum regem denicerit, captiuumq. fecerit: illa quoque augustale diadema Bononia suscepit.

Timoleon Corinthius praelia maxima natali suo die fecit omnia.

Sic Baotys in diem quintum mensis Hippodromij victorias clarissimas duas fortians contulit.

(2) *Romani semper soliti erant interpretari auspicia ita ut ad illorum institutum atque voluntatem accommodarentur.*

Papyrio quod prudenter auspiorum significationem fuisse interpretatus, honores decreti fuerant.

Eo spectant huiusmodi auguria omnia, ut miles ad dimicandum alacrior redderetur ex: qua alacritate, victoria ut plurimum sequebatur.

D' Aubigny Gouernour of Calabria, of a noble and braue courage, and one of the worthiest Captaines that Charles the eighth brought into Italy, comes with all his forces neare *Seminaria*; where some few yeares before he had had a famous victory against *Ferdinand* king of Naples, and *Gonsaluo* the gran Capitano. He lodgeth his Foot in *Gioia*, and his horse in *Lofarno*. The Spanish vanguard led by *Emanuel de Benauaida*, aduanceth to the riuer side whereupon *Gioia* standeth, and affronteth the enemy. Meane while the Battalion, led (as some say) by *Don Vgo di Cardona*,
and

and *Antonio di Leua* ; with the Reareled by *Andrada*, draw along the riuer, some mile and a halfe higher, and haste to passe the water. *D'Aubigny* hauing notice hereof, riseth suddenly without his artillery, and goesto encounter them before their troupes were passed ouer. He chargeth home brauely, but with much better courage than fortune : For the Spaniards being all passed the riuer, and ranged in good array of battell, entertaine him to his losse. His troupes are broken : the Duke of *Soma*, with many Barons of the kingdome, are taken : so is *Ambricourte*, with many French Captains. *D'Aubigny* himselfe fleeth to the rock of *Angitola* ; where he is besieged, and forced to yeeld. This defeat hapned on a Friday. Within eight daies after, *Gonsaluo* with his forces riseth from *Barletta*, comes before *Cirignuola* ten miles off, which held for the French ; and being likewise ten miles off from *Canosa*, where *Nemours* was lodged, made as it were a triangle. The French Vice-roy, after some litle pause and deliberation, resolues to fight : marcheth towards *Cirignuola* with all his army : comes vpon the enemy before he had fully entrenched the front of his camp, and chargeth him with excellent valour and resolution : But with like successe as *d'Aubigny* had done some few daies before. *Nemours* himselfe is slaine, and the battell lost. This ouerthrow was also on a Friday : A remarkable day among the Spaniards, wherein, as appeares by history, they haue atchieued many notable victories. But farre better cause haue we at this present, and so shall posteritie haue after vs, to keepe Tuesday with a memorable celebration, (—Nec nobis gratior vlla Quàm sibi quæ Martis præscripsit pagina nomen) for the seuerall, happie, and miraculous deliueries of our dread Lord and Soueraigne that now reigneth ouer vs : and vpon this day especially to be thankefull to him by whom Princes reigne, and reigneth himselfe for euer.

APHORISME XXXVI.

History (1) is the Kalendar of time, and bath
ber Criticke dayes as well as Physicke :
whereby conceit forehopeth of the good suc-
cesse of an affaire, as Art fore iudgeth of
the decrease of a disease. For we haue it
exemplified by many instances, that cer-
taine dayes haue bene perpe. ually succesfull to certaine per-
sons or nations: (2) Which, how soeuer some men may interpret
to Fate and necessity, or other to some other cause of circum-
stance or accident; yet is it the part of a wise Leader to make
vse thereof, and to nourish and cherish that former conceit in
the common souldier, because he shall thereby the better encour-
rage him to an alacrity of spirit, and an hope of the victory.

(1) *Cui pariter dies & fortuna fuit.*

*Carolo quinto Imperatori vigesimam quartam diem Februarij fuisse
euentibus omnibus memorabilem; quod si a sit natus, illa Gallorum regem
denicerit, captiuumq. fecerit: illa quoque augustale diadema Bononia
susceperit.*

Timoleon Corinthius praelia maxima natali suo die fecit omnia.

*Sic Baotjs in diem quinquagesimae Hippodromj victorias clarissimas
duas fortana contulit.*

(2) *Romani semper soliti erant interpretari auspicia, ita ut ad illorum in-
stitutum atque voluntatem accommodarentur.*

*Pappio quod prudenter auspiorum significationem fuisset interpreta-
tus, honores decreti fuerant.*

*Eo spectant huiusmodi auguria omnia, ut miles ad dimicandum ala-
crior redderetur ex: qua alacritate, victoria ut plurimum sequebatur.*

D^r Aubigny Gouernour of Calabria, of a noble and braue
courage, and one of the worthiest Captaines that Charles
the eighth brought into Italy, comes with all his forces
neare *Seminaria*; where some few yeares before he had
had a famous victory against *Ferdinand* king of Naples,
and *Gonsaluo* the gran Capitano. He lodgeth his Foot in
Gioia, and his horse in *Lofarno*. The Spanish vanguard led
by *Emanuel de Benauaida*, aduanceth to the riuer side wher-
upon *Gioia* standeth, and affronteth the enemy. Meane
while the Battalion, led (as some say) by *Don Vgo di Cardona*,
and

Senec. Herc.
Maiol. Col. 4.

Probus.
Plut. Camil.

Mac. l. i. c. 14.

Liui. l. 10.

Mac. l. i. c. 14.

and *Antonio di Leua* ; with the Reare led by *Andrada*, draw along the riuer, some mile and a halfe higher, and haste to passe the water. *D'Aubigny* hauing notice hereof, riseth suddenly without his artillery, and goes to encounter them before their troupes were passed ouer. He chargeth home brauely, but with much better courage than fortune : For the Spaniards being all passed the riuer, and ranged in good array of battell, entertaine him to his losse. His troupes are broken : the Duke of *Soma*, with many Barons of the kingdome, are taken : so is *Ambricourte*, with many French Captains. *D'Aubigny* himselfe fleeth to the rock of *Angitola* ; where he is besieged, and forced to yeeld. This defeat hapned on a Friday. Within eight daies after, *Gonsaluo* with his forces riseth from *Barletta*, comes before *Cirignuola* ten miles off, which held for the French ; and being likewise ten miles off from *Canosa*, where *Nemours* was lodged, made as it were a triangle. The French Vice-roy, after some litle pause and deliberation, resolues to fight : marcheth towards *Cirignuola* with all his army : comes vpon the enemy before he had fully entrenched the front of his camp, and chargeth him with excellent valour and resolution : But with like successe as *d'Aubigny* had done some few daies before. *Nemours* himselfe is slaine, and the battell lost. This ouerthrow was also on a Friday : A remarkable day among the Spaniards, wherein, as appeares by history, they haue atchieued many notable victories. *But farre better cause haue we at this present, and so shall posteritie haue after vs, to keepe Tuesday with a memorable celebration, (—Nec nobis gravior vlla Quàm sibi quæ Martis præscripsit pagina nomen)* for the seuerall, happie, and miraculous deliueries of our dread Lord and Soueraigne that now reigneth ouer vs : and vpon this day especially to be thankefull to him by whom Princes reigne, and reigneth himselfe for euer.

A Briefe
INFERENCE
VPON
GVICCIARDINES
DIGRESSION, IN THE
fourth part of the first Quarterne of
his HISTORIE.

Forbidden the Impression, and effaced out of the
Originall by the Inquisition.

In answer to a Letter from an Honou-
rable Friend.



LONDON,
Printed by *Iohn Haviland*, for *Robert Allot*.
1629.

1412 R 2311 CE

2000

[illegible]

SECRET



London, and for Robert Allen.

And now we write the Constitution
of Pledge the right of
and power of the

A BRIEFE INFERENCE

Vpon
Guicciardines Digression.

S*r.* by yours of the xiiij. of Iune, you desire to know the reason why the Inquisition hath effaced that excellent Digression out of the fourth booke of *GUICCIARDINE*: and what in my poore opinion may be inferred thereof. Which I send you with this enclosed, for your private reading, being willing to satisfie the request of one I respect so much, though in the discourse I nothing satisfie either you or my selfe.



Ungracious children, borne of low and meane estate, when their fortune or industrie hath aduanced them to honour, (be the meanes good or bad) they are euer ashamed of their pedigree, and will not acknowledge the humble estate and condition of their fore-

fathers. What reason else the Church of Rome hath to raze the memory of her Ancestors out of historie, (thereuerend records of Antiquitie) I for my part cannot see. For this worthy Historian was one of her owne: a Catholike in his profession, no man more: a reporter of things he saw or knew, no man truer: and a creature of the Popes, employed in honourable charges. By which Peece of his, thus vniustly rent and dismembred from the rest, you may see our Religion naked in her infancie; lapped only in the swathing clothes of innocencie; cherished in the warme bosome of securitie, and supported by the strong hand of Secular authoritie. See what hee saith, and belecue what you see.

GUICCIAR. For the declaration whereof, and of many other things succeeding in future times, it is requisite that mention be made, what claime the Church hath to the cities of Ro-

X x 2

magna,

magna, and others which she hath held heretofore, or possesseth at this day. And in what manner she is come to these earthly States and governments; being at first merely instituted for spiritual administration. & likewise that it be set down as a thing of necessary dependance, what coniunctions and alliances haue beene from time to time vpon these and other occasions, between the Bishops and Emperours of Rome.

THe necessitie of this Digression from the maine current of the historie, arose vpon this occasion. The LL^s. of Romagna, who held of the Church of Rome in Capite, had in effect for many yeares together withdrawne themselves from their obedience vnder her dominion. For some of them refused to pay their yearely tribute, in recognition of their homage and fealty: others paid it, but with much difficulty, and often out of time. But all of them in generall, without the Popes leaue (their liege Lord) would accept of other Princes entertainment, and put themselves and troupes vnder their pay: *Non obstante* that the warre in hand was against the Church. And likewise they had these Princes enterchangeably bound to them, to aid and defend them, though it were against the armes of the Church. Now therefore the Pope instanceth the French King to performe what he was tied to by Couenant, sc. *Of assisting the Church to recover her right in Romagna*: which the King willingly granteth: and sendeth *Iuo d' Alegri* with three hundred lances, and foure thousand Swisse vnder the Bailiffe of *Dijon*, to the Duke *Valentino* the Popes son, for this seruice. The interest which the Church had to this State, and by what meanes it was lost, our Author thinks it expedient to set downe here at large: and therefore one chiefe branch of this Digression, is nothing else but *An authentick Euidence of the Churches right to Romagna*: a faire Charter how she holds it by a strong Deed of gift, with proofes of the validitie of the Conueyance and equity of the Tenure. And this branch I suppose she would haue suffered to grow still and flourish. But then there is another, which shewes by good record, how her government was at first merely spiritual: which restriction she likes not, and hath stretched

stretched so much, as she had broken that True knot, which was betwene Temporall and Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction. Besides, a third Branch there is, which lates open her ambitious purchase of greatness, and the means how she got it, which she would have all men acknowledge for iust, and none to looke into the unlawfulness of the vsurpation. And these be the two branches, for whose sake, she hath iniuriously lopt off all the three.

GUICCIARD. The Bishops of Rome, of whom the Apostle Peter was the first, their power being layd by Iesus Christ in spirituall things, great in charity, humility, patience, lowliness of spirit, and miracles; were not onely without al temporall power, but were persecuted by it: manifesting their name in nothing more than in the persecutions, which they and their followers endured. And thus they remained for many yeares obscure, and as it were unknowne. For, although (through the multitude of people that were then in Rome; and the diuersity of the Nations, and their Religions) the proceedings of the Christians were little regarded, and some of the Emperors persecuted them not at all, except when it appeared their publike actions or exercises could not be passed in silence; yet some of them either through the crueltie of their nature, or their devotion to their owne heathenish gods, persecuted them with all extremity, as bringers in of new Superstition, and overthrowers of (their) true Religion.

THe Bishops of Rome in the primitive time of the Church, were so, rather by appellation from their meere spirituall function, than by Jurisdiction from their consistoriall authoritie. For what Sea, what Chapter, what Diocesse, what Gouernment had they? who liued alwaies in obscuritie, and exercised their religion and seruice of the true God, onely by stealth, and in corners: or else being discouered, suffered vnder the heauie hand of perfection. Graue, Learned, Religious, Pious men they were; the office of S. Peter and S. Paul they executed, to instruct, and repreue: by the imposition of hands, and those other solemne and sacred rites vsed by the Apostles, they conferred

ferred the holy order of Priesthood on others : that with them they might co-operate in that new planted Vineyard, to the building vp of those few penitent Christians, (wherof the greater part were poore, and obscure,) that came to them for comfort in matter of conscience, or for direction in case of doubt. These they loosed from their sins, and confirmed in the truth: Others they reprobued and conuincd of their errors, and bound them from the participation of spirituall blessings, by vertue of that power which Christ had left them in his Church. Whereby, although they had an authority spirituall, and power of excommunication, yet a farther power of goods, limbe, or life, a power of deposing Kings, and disposing kingdomes they had not : nor had *S. Peter* himselfe, from whom they strue to deriue their succession both in place and power. Of whose being at *Rome*, we greatly dispute not, for it inferreth nothing of consequence, to that they would insinuate. We know it was not *Peters* being at *Rome* that gaue her the Supremacie ouer all other Churches, but *Romes* greatnesse, that gaue the occasion of that greatnesse, which is now attributed to *Peter*. For though it be true, that he had *Superioritatem ordinis*, before the rest of the Apostles, yet was hee not *Superior potestate*, which the Popes haue since challenged. And it (three hundred years after almost) when *Constantine* embraced, professed, & maintained Christian Religion, the Imperiall Maiestie had then resided in *France*, as it did fise hundred yeares after, and there continued some fourescore yeares ; or in *Germany*, where it hath beene euer since : we had had a Pope of *Paris*, or of *Prague*, in stead of this that we haue now at *Rome*. But a fall thing it hath beene to this citie to vsurpe ouer the world : First, by holding in a temporall subiection all the countries of her neighbour Princes : Since, by bringing into thraldome the hearts and consciences of Christians : First, by intruding vpon the inheritance of men ; then, by inroaching vpon the heritage of Christs owne purchase. But say wee grant that *Peter* were Head of the Church, yet can it neuer be proued, that such a *Clemens*, such a *Pius*, or *Innocentius*, whose abhominable actions shew

shew they had their names *est' antequam*, are the true successors of Peter. Except they can tie Truth and Piety to a place, which is more than all their censuring, hallowing, and exorcizing can doe. Rome her selfe is an instance, which from the integritie of those former times is become as Petrarch describes her.

*Fontana di dolore, Albergo d' ira,
Scuola d' Errori, Tempio d' Heresia,
Già Roma, hor Babylonia, empta e ria.
Per cui tanto si piagne, e si sospira.*

A Source of sorrow, Harbrough of ire;
A Schoole of errors, Temple of heresies,
Earst Rome, now Babylon, full of villanies,
Forcing our teares of brine, and sighs of fire.

Succession therefore of place is a sandy ground, to build the marble materials of Truth vpon. For we see in this very section, that where Religion hath publike authoritie to maintaine it, the whole State to professe it, and a long tract and continuance of time, to giue it countenance (be it neuer so false) yet power, vnity, vniuersality, and success, giues it the title of Truth. Such was here the seruice of false gods in the Romane Empire: And how it may now again be applied to Rome, let other men iudge. But where a Religion is poore, obscure, discountenanced, oppressed, without any to protect her, or many to professe her, (be it neuer so ancient and true) it is wronged with the aspersions of Nouelty and Heresie. Such was here the seruice of the True God in the Church of Rome: And whether it be not now the Protestants case, against the false imputation which the Papist throwes vpon him, let the venerable Records of these Primitiue times be witness.

GUICCIAR. In which estate, famous for their voluntarie Pouertie, Integrity of life, and Martyrdoms, these Bishops continued till the time of Syluester: In whose daies Constantine the Emperour being brought to embrace the Christian Religion, through the holy conuersation which was daily obserued in those that professed the name of Christ: The Bishops now were freed from the danger wherein they had liued 300. yeares, and had libertie to exercise publikely the diuine Service, and rites

of

of Christians. Whereupon Christianity began to spread it selfe maruellously, and the pouertie of the Clergie to diminish, through the reuerence which was borne to the good behauiour of the Professors, the holy lessons which our Religion contains in it, and the readinesse that is in men to follow either through ambition (oftentimes) or through feare, the example of the Prince. For the Emperour Constantine hauing built in Rome the Church of S. Iohn in the Lateran, S. Peter in the Vaican, that of S. Paul, and many others in other places : He not onely adorned them with rich vessels and ornaments, but enfeofed them also with possessions, and endowed them with other reuenues for the maintenance of those Churches in their apparaments and buildings, and of the Clergie that serued in that holy Ministry. So likewise others in times succeeding, being perswaded by Almes and Legacies to the Church to make an easie purchase of the kingdome of heauen, did either build and endow other Churches, or gaue part of their wealth to those already built. Yea by the law and ancients custome (following the example of the old Testament) leuery man paid the Church the tenth of his fruits : Men being stirred hereunto with great zeale, because at the first they obserued the Clergie themselves, to giue all they had to the building and adorning of Churches, or to other godly and charitable vses : Save onely what was needfull for a meane sustentation of their life.

THe two glorious Lampes, Purity of Doctrine in the Christian Religion, and Integrity of life in the professors thereof, do now blaze and shine forth through the two thicke mists, of profane gentilisme, and corruption of manners. For, neuer was that Iustice, Vertue, and Worth of the old Romans so much adulterate and bastardized as now: Neuer such cruelty, lust, riot, and oppression in their Princes, neuer such base flatterie, false informations, and ignoble supplantations in their Senators, neuer so much vice in generall, reigning both in the Citie and State. These two therefore were the true causes of the Gospels entertainment, promulgation, and propagation. But all things haue their declination and decay, by the contraries to their life and growth. For as we obserue in naturall bodies, that native

heat

heat and radicall humour are the causes of their increase and continuance; but the contraries to these doe cause them to decay and die: So in the bodie Ecclesiastick, it is no marvell, if that primitiue heat of zeale to piety and truth be grown cold in the Church of Rome, and that moisture of grace to vertue and honestie be quite dried vp, though she fall to an utter ruine and decay. As for her corruption of manners, her owne children out of their iust griefe haue exprelly rainted her with all the stains of vicious life in the particular, and al the straines of ambitious usurpation in the generall. I wil exemplifie both with two instances out of this our Author.

GVICCIARD. Pope Alexander himselfe could not chide his domesticall misfortunes, which too too much afflicted his house, with tragicke examples, lust, and horrible crueltie, euening in all barbarous manner. For hauing from his first entrance, to the Papacie, resolved to lay all Temporall greatnesse upon his eldest sonne the Duke of Candie; the Cardinal of Valencia his younger sonne hauing no disposition to Priestly function, aspired to the profession of Armes, and dauning that his brother should be preferred to that honour before him: being also much incensed because his brother shared with him in the loue of the Ladie Lucrece, courted by them both, and sister to them both. Wherefore pricked on with lust and ambition, (two powerfull ministers of all villany) he caused him secretly one night to be murdered, and to be throwne into Tyber. The same went also, (if such an enormity be to be beleued) that not onely the brothers, but the father also himselfe concurred in the competition of the Ladies loue; who so soone as he was Pope, taking her from her first husband as being now too base for a Lady of her degree, he married her to Iohn Zforza Lord of Pesaro. And after, not enduring to haue her owne husband his Corriuall, he dissolved the marriage which before was consummate, suborning some to testifie before Iudges chosen for the purpose, (and them to giue sentence) that Zforza was frigida naturæ, and vnapt for generation.

THUS farre Guicciardine of this vertuous sonne a Cardinal; and this holy Father a Pope: of whose death hee
Yy like

A brieft Inference

likewise truly reporteth in this History, that he was poysoned by mistaking a cup which himselfe and his sonne had provided for the dispatch of some other Cardinals, that stood in the way of their deuillish designs. This historie is extant in many Editions, to the shame of his memory, and staine of that Sea for euer. But the Oration of *Pompey Colonna* and *Anthonie Sauallo*, two noble Gentlemen of *Rome*, which they made to the Citizens in the Capitoll, vpon the supposed death of *Iulius 2.* is banished this historie by the Inquisition, whose proscriptions are like the Athenian Ostracisme, that thrust out none but the best and most worthy. Which wee may iustly call home againe, and fitly plant in this place, to batter the rotten bulwarke of the Popes pride and vsurped authoritie. It is thus:

22
GVICCIAR. *The Nobilitie hath beene long enough trod downe (O ye Romans,) enough haue those generous spirits (whilome the conquerours of the world) liued in seruitude. The times past perhaps may in some sort bee excused, by the awfull reuerence men bore to Religion: In respect wherof, being accompanied with holinesse of life and miracles, our ancestors yeelded to the command of the Clergie, and willingly submitted themselves vnder the sweet yoke of Christian pietie, without force of armes, or violence whatsoever. But now what necessitie, what worthinesse of theirs can possibly couer the shame of our slavery; What? The integrity of life? the good example of those Priests, or the miracles they worke? What generation is there I pray you in the world, more corrupted, more polluted, with more brutish and beastly manners? In whom it seemeth miraculow, that God the fountains of Iustice, suffereth their villanies so long. Is this tyranny of theirs maintained by the sword? by the industry of men? or by their dayly providence for the preservation of the Papall dignity? What generation of men is there lesse experienced in militarie knowledge and practice? more giuen to sloth and pleasures? or more carelesse of the honour and good of their successors? There are onely two States in the world, that may fitly bee paralleled one with the other: This of the Popes of Rome, and that of the Sultans of Cairo. Because neither the*
dignitie

dignitie of the Sultan, nor the honours of the Mamaluches are hereditarie, but passing from nation to nation, they are conferred upon strangers. And yet this seruitude of the Romanes is much more shamefull than that of Egypt or of Syria: For it couereth in some sort the staine of their disgrace, that the Mamaluches are a valorous and fierce people, accustomed to labours, and to a life free from all delicacie. But whom doe we Romans serue? Drowfie and slothfull persons, strangers, and oftentimes most base, no lesse in bloud than in condition. Time it is now at length to awake from so heavy a sleepines, & to remember, That to be a Roman is a most glorious name, when it is accompanied with vertue: but that it doubleth the shame and infamie to him that forgetteth the honourable fame of his Ancestors. The way is now made easie vnto vs: because that vpon the death of the Pope they are at discord among themselves, the mindes of the great ones are distracted, and the priestly tyranny is now more than euer heretofore batefull to all Princes.

THis detestation of theirs, and protestation against the Popes temporall Lordship ouer Rome, may Christian Princes iustly take vp against his spirituall tyranny ouer them, and the Churches in their dominions, and say in the same tenor of words (*Regall authoritie hath been long enough trod down, O ye Christians, long enough haue those generous spirits, &c*) Which Oration, whether it were theirs, or made by our Author in their persons (as Historians vsually doe) it is not materiall: it plainly sheweth and truly, how the Romans themselves stand affected and conceited to that Court, who are daily eye-witnesses of the pride and filthinesse thereof, which the Bigots of this age, and in places far remote, either will not haue the patience to heare, or the grace to belecue. They will not be perswaded but that the whole body of that Church is sound, when her wise neighbours see how sick shee is in the Head. So much are they hood-winked and blind-folded by the Iesuites those minerall Doctors, who haue digged verie deepe for plaisters to couer, not for salues to cure the vlcer; and haue brought a mischiefe, not a remedy into the Church. For no sooner had men appeared, whole skill was good to cure

this foule leprosie, but straight starts vp this colledge of Quackesalers to hinder the worke: A *Loiola* for a *Luther*, a *Rowland* for an *Oliuer*. And as the *Turkish Basbas* assured the army that the *Ottoman* Emperour was liuing, and in reasonable good state of health, when hee lay dead in his litter: so these *Romish* Ianisaries perswade the poore people of our *Christian* campe, that all is well at *Rome*, and that the *Popes Holinesse* is iust in his gouernment, vpight in his Religion, and sound in his practice and conuersation of life, when he lies sweltring oftentimes in the soile of his rotten rule, and litter of lewd life: Venting for truth, and to be receiued vpon paine of damnation, the sale-able but not auailable trash of his own weauing. No maruell therefore though their owne *Petrarch* call for this direful vengeance vpon his Court:

*Fiamma dal ciel su le tue treccie piona
Maluaggia: che dal finme e dalle ghiande,
Per altrui impouerir sei ricca e grande,
Poi ché di mal oprar tanto tigiona.
Nido di tradimenti in cui si cona
Quanto mal per'l mondo hoggi si spande,
Di vin serua, di letti, & de viuande,
In cui lussuria fa l'ultima prona.*

Let fire from heauen on thy proud tresses fall,
Thou wicked quane: who first on acornes fed,
Art now growne rich and fat by others bread,
Since to doe well thou hast no ioy at all,
Thou nest of treasons, wherein hatched lies
All mischiefs broached through our Hemisphere:
In thee wine, slouth, and viands domineere,
And lustfull riot playes her vtmost prise.

As for those other Doctors of that Church, whom we haue here among vs (the *Secular Priests*) though they re-
taine still the old Lees of that corrupted Caske of the *Romish* Church, yet they appeare to bee guiltles, nay rather
haters of those furious nouelties brought in by the *Iesuites*
(at least if their internall meaning agree with their external
profession.) But if they dissemble with vs, impaling their
consciencs, and oaths of obedience to our King, within
this parenthesis (*Rebus sic stantibus*) and reseruing an impli-
cite

cite helcfce in the *Councellof Trent*, concerning the absolute neceffitie of fubiection to the Pope; fuch temporizing muft needs be far from the ingenuitie & finceritie of Chriftian Religion, and wherein they much abufe their difciples here among vs. For we are in good hope, that fince they profefle fo much to retaine the old Leauen of ancient Religion, they wil not fuffer themfelues to be infected with the new equiuocations of the Iefuiticall Sect: but as they maintaine fo obftinately the ancient errors of the Romifh Church, fo they will be loth to renounce the ancient honeftie that the world (euen in the time of greateft blindnes) did fo carefully preferue, namely, honefty morall to their neighbor, & due & faithfull obedience to their Prince. So, though they bee a little too homely with the firft Table in the point of worfhip; they will I hope (at leaft I wifh) proue carefull and honeft obferuers of the fecond: which, how little or much it may auaille them to their faluation, as I wil not take vpon me to determine, yet I am fure it cannot faile to make them proue morally honeft men before the world. As for their Religion (the other caufe confiderable in this Section) it is now fo farded & daubed with the counterfeit parget of mens traditions, like the painted women of this age, that we may fay of it, as an old Doctour of the Church faid of them in his dayes, *Vereor ne Deus creaturam non agnofcat fuam*. For Chriftian religion was at firft like the garment of Chrift without feame or rent, and the Church that profefled it without Schifme or Faction: But now this Arke of *Noah*, like the Ship of *Argos*, is fo pecced and patched by them, with the rotten rags and foiled fhreds of finfull mans inuention, as there is fcarce any found timber of the old Truth remaining. Firft fhee was poore, then much added, after much altered, from better to worfe, and now at the worft, like *Daniels* image, whole head was of gold, breft and armes of filuer, belly and thighs of braffe, legs of iron, feet part of iron and part of clay. She was at firft the fared bond that tied Princes to their people, in all lawfull adminiftration of Iuftice; and the people to their Princes, in all awfull performance of Allegeance: But now, the one often makes her the cloake

of his ambition, & the other the colour of all their treasons: Vnder which pretence, more Christian blood hath beene shed, than is at this day in all the States of Christendome. Christ left her with his Church poore and naked, cloathed onely with Simplicitie, supported by Faith, led by Humilitie, attended with Pietie, and armed with Constance. For thus at the end of 300 yeares, did the Imperiall authoritie find her, like an Orphan Child in the bosome of her poore mother the Church: But it entertained her as a deare Sister: and for the mutuall loue they bare, and the comfort they found each in other, like the *Graces* they enfolded and enclasped their armes of assistance together: like Co-heires, they parted the inheritance betweene them: There was a diuision, but no discord; in the diuersitie of order, there was an harmonic of gouernment: their *Motto* was that of the blind man and the lame in *Alciato*, (*Mutuum Auxiliū*) for Politie thought her selfe blind, without the direction of Religion; and Religion found her selfe lame, without the support of Politie. And thus they sate in their seuerall Courtes of Iustice: the one in the Common Pleas of euery poore mans right: the other in the Consistory of euery good mans conscience. And now was the Church of *Rome*, the mother of Truth, the nurse of Pietie, the sister of Politie, and protected by the sword and power of secular authority. But when Princes had once endow'd her with great riches, enfeofed her with faire possessions, and inuested her in the ioynt participation of their authority; then such was her pride, as no colours would serue her but Scarlet and Purple: and such her ambition, as no share would content her but all. *Religio peperit diuitias, & filia deuorauit matrem.* Since when she hath hatched and brought forth falshood in opinions, impietie in actions, treacherie in covenants, and ambiguitie in oaths and promises: cherishing State-troublers, fostering King-quellers, and taking the double edged sword of authoritie into her owne hands. *Princes resume your right: Take away the cause, if ye like not the effect: It is her part to teach onely; yours onely to command: Hers, onely to be holy; yours to be iust.*

GVICCIAR. And then was the Bishop of Rome (ambition and pride not having yet seized on their hearts) taken generally for the chiefe of all other Churches, and of the Spirituall Iurisdiction, as the Successor of the Apostle S. Peter. Both because that citie by her ancient prebeminence and greatnesse, kept still the name and maiestie of the Empire: as also because from her, Christian Religion was spread ouer the greatest part of Europe: and lastly because Constantine himselfe baptixed by Syluester, yeelded willingly that power to him and his successors.

NOW commeth the Church to haue her established gouernment, and a Head or chiefe thereof acknowledged. For she could not well subsist, but by order; and order cannot be, but by a graduall proceeding from the inferior to the next, and so to the highest. This Head or chiefe was the Bishop of Rome. And herein he had a double power, one as a member of the Church, from Christ the Head: But this power was like the peace which Christ left his Apostles, (*A peace of conscience, a power of conscience,*) a power in things meerely Spirituall, a power to bind and loose, to open & shut heauen gates: In which sense, euery poore Priest lawfully ordained is a Porter as well as S. Peter. But he had another power as head of the Church gouernment, from the Emperor, the supreme head of all worldly power within his dominions: A power of *Oyer and Terminer* in cases liable to the Consistory, as our Iudges haue vnder the King, in cases within their seuerall circuits: A power which the Emperor might well giue him, for it was not of matters originally & naturally Ecclesiasticall (which he & other Bishops haue immediatly from Christ,) but of determining some ciuill causes in their Consistory, which hee had by the Emperours indulgence: as also a coactive power, both for the honour of Episcopall dignitie, and to make their Spirituall censures in more awfull feare and regard. And this power is like the lawes by which it ruleth. For as Ecclesiasticall canons and constitutions are positive, abrogative, and transitive into new: So is the power conferrable, changeable, and passable into another; Especially vpon the alteration of the Supreme Imperiall power

power, from whence it is deriued. And if *Constantine* gaue it to the Bishops of *Rome* for the three reasons allea-
 ged here by our Author, then may wee when these rea-
 sons faile, the power is abused, or ambition and pride
 seizeth on the hearts of those Bishops, take it from them,
 and conferre it vpon other Bishops: as our *Constantine* hath
 iustly done, vpon the Primates of our Church in Eng-
 land. So then the Pope of *Rome* was the head of the
 Church gouernment: the chiefe of all Bishops: the first
 and the last: what would he haue more? The first, in de-
 gree and precedence, the last in appellation, and *Dernier*
Reform, as the Parliament of *Paris* is to the other Parlia-
 ments in *France*: *Pasce oues*, and *Tibi dabo*, onely gaue him
Claves Regni, and *Forum Conscientie*, (as also *Accipite* gaue
 the same to the rest of the Apostles:) for if Christ had inten-
 ded him a farther power, he would haue sealed his commis-
 sion with a plainer text, & a stronger warrant. But the tem-
 porall authority, which allotted him temples for the exer-
 cise of Religion, and maintenance of liuings for the reli-
 gious, gaue him *Claves canonum*, and *Forum iuris*. The rea-
 sons why it was giuen him before all others, are here ex-
 pressed: because *Rome* had now the *Imperium* and *Empo-
 rium* of the world; here was the seat of the Imperiall Maie-
 stie, and here hence was that heavenly commoditie (Reli-
 gion) vnted. For till *Constantines* time, *Rome* was the
 golden mine, wherein the rich treasures of the Truth lay
 hid, and as it were buried, vnder the stormie tempest and
 blacke clouds of her persecution: by the fire whereof it
 had bene so purified and refined from the drosse of all
 earthly things, as now comming to light, and to the touch, it
 was found to be of good Allay, and passed currant from
 this great Mart, into most places of *Europe*. Now if this
 were one of the maine causes of that Churches greatnesse,
 why did she not continue it so still vnmixed and vnso-
 dded? why suffered she it to be abused and sophisticate by
 her Clippers, and Coiners, and Forgers, and Faith-founders?
 why gaue she vs so iust cause to take no more Letters of
 credit from her Bankrupt Checquer, and to returne no
 more Bills of due debt thither: why forced she vs to raise

a Banck of our own vpon the *Mercato Vecchio* of the Primitive ruines, and to forsake her whom wee would haue called still mother, and remained her obedient children, and at her paps, (as wee did for long time) haue suckt the sweet milke of pure Religion and Piety? For although our ancestors the Brittons were originally more beholdē to the East Church, yet are we so ingenious to giue her this title, in such sense as she must acknowledge *Greece* for her Mother Church, and they both *Ierusalem* for Grandmother of all: because (*Primò Iudeo*) gaue her the prerogatiue. These then were the true reasons why the Pope had giuen him this Superioritie or Supremacie, call it whether you will: for, to bee superiour ouer any whatsoeuer, is to bee supreme ouer all. But this is the Title they so much affect, and wee doe not much grudge it them (in the true and genuine sense:) onely we complaine of the abuse in the administration, and put them in minde, though too late, that *he must vse his power sparingly, that would inioy it long.* Now as pure Religion, and the Seat of the Empire were the two pillars whereupon the Popes greatnesse was founded: so were they knit and ioynited together in such a complement, as either the failing of the one, or remoouing of the other, endangered the fore shaking, if not finall falling of this proud Building. For by translation of the Imperiall seat to *Constantinople*, the Pope failed of that generall recognition of Supremacie formerly yeelded him. The Bishop of this place contested with him for the Title: and he of *Rauenna* likewise put his claime in suit, because here was the Court and Seat of the *Exarchat*: But now was the Emperour too far off to be heard, and too weake to decide the question betweene these ambitious Prelats; and the Pope growne too great to quit the possession. Had he vſed it well, he might haue vſed it still: but hauing engrossed into his owne hands the Sole-gouernment of the Church, which at first was Aristocraticall in the Apostles, & after in the Patriarkes: hee was not content with that power which all of thē had, nor listd himselfe within the bounds of those wholesome lawes & Canons, which Truth and Antiquity had established for the Church-gouernmēt; but

assumed to himselfe the power of making and abrogating laws at his pleasure, & to be aboue all Canons and Councils. And so whereas our Fathers of the Church, had in all piety & prudent prouidence appointed thele Councils as a *Tribunitian power* to restrain his more than *Consular greatness*; to syndicate & controll his imperious & violent proceedings: he takes vpon him, not only to stop the course of their power, but also to hinder the calling of them, for curing such diseases as should grow in the Church, w^{ch} we now see to be many in the members, but none so desperately incurable as those in the Head. So that, as the Church-gouernment changed frō an *Aristocracie* to a *Monarchie*; so likewise that of *Rome* is now altered frō this to a *Tyrannie*. For all well reigled Monarchies admit a due mixture & temperature of the three Estates with the Princes power in all main causes, such as those of abrogating old laws & customs, or establishing new, as by the Diets of *Germanie* and *Poland*, by the Assemblies of *France*, & Parliaments of *England*, doth appeare. But where it is otherwise, & where the peremptorie wil & wilfulnes of the Prince shall be an absolute law to the people, & be it right or wrong, with law or against it, all must obey, or suffer; that power is meerely tyrannicall, as in this instance of the Popes proceedings is plain. For he hath now taken frō Princes the power of calling Councils, and frō the Councils themselues their proper end and vse. Had they subsisted in their primitiue force and freedome (as those Parliaments, Diets, and Assemblies do) to ordaine & abrogate laws in the Church, as the necessitie of times & vicissitude of things required, yea and to order & restraine the Pope himself, if in his gouernment he grew irregular & tyrannous; then had the Papists a better cause to defend, & we lesse cause to complain. For truly neuer was there gouernmēt in this world planted & vpheld with greater iudgemēt & policie, hauing true Religion for the *Basis* & firme foundation; & princely Authority for the stately root & safe couering of so goodly a building, had not the Church of *Rome* heaped so much stubble & straw of mans constitutions vpon the marble ground of Gods ordinance. But Every tree which the heauenly

Father

Father hath not planted, shall be rooted up. For no policie of man can make any actions of his vnlike himselfe that makes them, (that is) permanent and perpetuall: They haue their beginnings, motions, promotions, and arisings, to a period, (as all Monarchies haue had) and then they decline, decay, perish and fall, with the swinge of their owne greatnesse. *Ruet & ipsa Roma mole sua*: Romes Hierarchie must lie in the dust, like man that raised it vp to this pinnacle of pride: but Religion the groundworke must euer stand like him that layed it, *Who is yesterday, and to day, and the same for euer: Who is, and that was, and that is to come.*

GVICCIAR. It is further reported, that Constantine being forced by the troubles of the East to transerre the seat of his Empire to Bisantium (now Constantinople,) gaue vnto the Bishops of Rome the absolute dominion of that citie, and many other cities and countries of Italie. The which report though the Bishops succeeding haue diligently laboured to maintaine, and by their authoritie is beleeued of many, yet of Authors of best credit it is much reprobued, but much more by the matter itselfe. For it is manifest that then & long after, both Rome and all Italie was gouerned vnder magistrates deputed by the Emperors, as being still subiect to the Empire: yea and there bee also that denie (so deepe is ignorance in Antiquities) all that hath beene said of Constantine and Syluester, affirming that they liued in diuers times. But no man gain-saith that the Translation of the Empire was the originall of the Bishops greatnesse: For the Emperours authoritie growing to be weaker and weaker in Italie by the crosses and troubles they had in the East, the people of Rome withdrawing themselues from the Emperour, and therefore attributing more to the Bishops, began willingly to yeeld them, not a plaine subiection, but a certaine kind of obedience; though this appeared but slowly, by reason of the ouer running of the Vandals and other barbarous Nations, by whom Rome being often taken and sacked, the Pontifical name was of long time base and obscure, as touching Temporall causes: So was the authoritie of the Emperour through all Italie, because he so shamefully left it abandoned to the Barbarians.

Among which barbarous people, whose rauage and spoile was but like the furie of a sodaine floud; that of the Gothes lasted 60 yeares. A nation by name and profession Christian, descended from the parts of Dacia and Tartaria: who at length being driven out of Italie by the Emperors forces, she began anew to be commanded by Greeke gouernors, called of them Exarchs: who seated themselves in Rauenna an ancient citie, and in those daies verie rich, and verie much frequented, by reason of the fruitfullnesse of the countrie thereabouts, and for that it was inhabited by diuers Captaines and men of command, euer since the enlargement it had by the great nauie that Augustus Cesar and other Emperours after him vsually kept there: as also for that a long time it had beene the residence of Theodoricus king of the Gothes, and of his Successors; who in iealousie of the Emperors power, chose this place rather than Rome for the Seat of their Court, by reason it is more fitly seated vpon the Sea, and neerer to Constantinople: vpon which opportunitie of situation, the Exarchs likewise made that their residence, & deputed other particular Magistrates to the gouernment of Rome and other cities, vnder the title of Dukes. Herupon al that in Italy was called the Exarchat of Rauenna, which was immediately vnder the gouernment of these Exarchs, and had no particular Dukes.

THE Donation of Constantine hath here two strong parties, and is stiffely argued on both sides. The Popes and their followers stand for the affirmatiue: Authors of best credit, for the negatiue. Those, come into the lists armed with authoritie: these, with the Truth. The Pope is here on the one side, and the Truth on the other. In this doubtful case, Guicciardine though hee were the Popes seruant, yet by his masters leaue hee will forsake him, and leane to the truth, as Aristotle quit his master Plato: *Charus amicus, charior veritas*. So should wee doe; and not bee such apprentices and bondmen to *Ipse dixit*, as to runne against the current of our owne reason and reading in matter of Historie, when it is so authentically and demonstratiuely (as here) confirmed. It is true, the axiomes of our Faith and Religion are *ad rationem fidem in se habentia*:

bentia; objects of the heart, not of the braine; and therefore in these wee entertaine Faith and Blesses alone, we shut out reason and sense but in all other things we must bee directed by reason which distinguisheth vs from all other creatures. But is here the Pope on the one side and the Truth on the other? Then surely he may erre; and by maintenance and obstinacie make his error an heresie, euen in matter of Faith; as some of them haue done. But this (forsooth) is not *Cathedra*. A nice distinction, which no reason can admit. For when he comes to the Chaire, to opine and determine, he leaues not his passions and affections behinde him: he findes no more knowledge nor grace than hee brought with him. Wherefore wee acknowledge a reuerence and awfull respect to all Seats of Iudgement, for Iustice sake, which is there by Gods ordinance to be duly administred; but we acknowledge no vertue in the place: I feare mee they haue little of that wood in *Rome*, whereof to frame their Tribunalls. The Chaire they say is hole-ly, but in a sense more sensible. As for this free Deed of gift wherby the Pope maketh his claime to *Rome*, it is cleerely ouerthrowne and cancelled by this Euidence. Because both in *Constantines* time, and long after, not only this City, but all *Italie* was gouerned by the Emperours Deputies; and the Roman Citizens vpon their defection and reuolt from the Emperour, gaue it to the Pope: but yet with termes of restriction and limitation: he was not absolute. But what needs all this quarrell and contention between the Popes on the one side, and best Authors on the other, about this point, whether he had it by the Emperours free donation, or peoples consent with limitation, or his owne violent inuasion? He hath now held it in subiection (though not peaceable possession) about 800. yeares: a prescription long enough to iustifie a bad title, and no man at this day quarrels him for it: only he would not haue vs search the Records, and looke into the Conueyance, where we apparently finde, how the decay of the Imperiall power was the raising of the Papall greatnesse: and may most iustly and fitly parallel this his rising from so low an estate to

A briefe Inference

his now sitting in his Pontificalibus in Rome, with that of the Turke : who, from a poore and base condition, with his maniple and rable of Tartars, incroaching by little and little vpon the Asian Princes, and taking his aduantage vpon others discord and weaknesse, is now come to sit Grand Signor at Constantinople.

GVICCIAR. In which time the Bishops of Rome ha-
uing nothing to doe with the temporall sword, and growing
slothfull through their dissembling manners (which already
had begun to swarue from their former spirituall reuerence)
stood as it were vassals to the Emperour : without whose con-
firmation, or of their Exarchs, they durst not exercise or take
vpon them the Papacie. Nay the Bishops of Constantinople
and Rauenna, (because commonly the Seat of Religion fol-
loweth the power of the Empire and of Armes) contested with
the Bishop for superioritie. But not long after the state of
things altered ; for the Lombards, a fierce nation, entring
Italic, made themselves Lords of Gallia Cisalpina, (which of
them was called Lombardie) and of Rauenna, with all the
Exarchat, besides many other parts of Italy, yea they spread
their armes as farre as the Marquisate of Ancona, Spoletum,
and Beneuentum, which had their particular Dukes. The
Emperours meane while, partly through the troubles they had
in Asia, not providing remedy for these mischiefs, partly
through negligence ; Rome seeing her selfe abandoned, and the
office of Exarchat now extinct in Italy, began to be gouerned
by the aduice and power of the Bishop : who at length, together
with the Romans, being sore afflicted by the Lombards, ran
for succour to Pipin King of France. He passing Italy with
a mightie armie, draue them from part of their dominions,
hauing held it in subiection aboue 200 yeares ; and gaue to the
Bishop and Church of Rome, (as being his by law of Armes)
not onely Urbine Agobbio, Taro, and many other places adioy-
ning to Rome, but also Rauenna with her Exarchat : vnder
which (they say) is included all that lyeth from the confines of
Placentia, neare the territorie of Pavia, betweene the riuer Po
and the Appennine hilles, the marishes of Venice, and the A-
driaticke Sea, and from Rimini to the riuer Talsa then called
Asaurus.

Asaurus. But after Pipins death, the Lombards troubling these Popes afresh, and that which was given them, Charles the sonne of Pipin (who after his great victories was worthily surnamed the Great) hauing utterly destroyed the Lombards, confirmed his Fathers Donation to the Church of Rome; and during the time of this his warre reassured to the Pope, the gift of the Marquisate, and the Duchie of Spoletum, which comprehended the city of Aquila, and part of Abruzzo. These things are deliuered for Truth: To which some Ecclesiasticall writers adde this also, that Charles gaue to the Church all Liguria, as farre as the riuer Varo, the furthest limit of Italy; Besides Mantua, and all that which the Lombards held in Furl, and in Istria: As much (saith some one) of the Isle of Corfica, and all the countrie which lieth betweene the cities of Luni and Parma. For which benefits the Kings of France being magnified and extolled by those Popes, purchased the title of most Christian. And afterwards in the yeare of our Lord 800, Pope Leo with the people of Rome, (without any authority but his, who was as their Head) elected Charles Emperour of Rome: Separating this part of the Empire euen in title from that of the Emperour of Constantinople, as if Rome and the West parts, not being defended by them, had need of an Emperour of their owne.

The State of the Empire had beene now sicke of a consumption for many years. The Dacian & Tartarian Gothes like two strong and maligne humours, had seized vpon Rome, and other the more noble and vitall parts of Italy; they had intruded vpon the Emperours inheritance, rauaging and spoiling all that goodly country: but by his army and naturall forces (as it were,) the venome of thole strong ingredients is againe driuen out, the office of Exarchat is established, and the body of the Empire somewhat recouered from this desperate weaknesse, though not wholly restored to the former state of perfect health and sound constitution. Yet for all that the Pope is not so great, but that he still continues the Emperours vassall, and dares not take vpon him the Papacy, vnlesse hee bee first accepted and confirmed by the Emperour, or by his deputy

puty the Exarch of *Rauenna*. But shortly after the body of the Empire fallies into a relapse, and the effect shewes that *A reciduation is more dangerous than the root of a disease*: for the *Lombards* a fierce people, assailing *Italy* afresh, tyrannize ouer her with more violence & fury than the *Gothes*; They pul down the authority, & quite extinguish the office and name of the Exarchat; they domineere with more insolence and continue longer: for those stood not in their strength about 60 yeares, these 200 at the least. *Rome* and the Pope smart vnder this scourge, and groane vnder this burden. They cannot helpethemselues, and the Emperor is not so farre off in place, as in abilitie and meanes to releue them: They flecto *France* for succour. The French King inuades, subdues, and expelles the *Lombards*, & giues to the Church *Vrbine*, *Agobbio*, *Taro*, *Rauenna*, and many other *Signories*. This then that our Author here sets downe out of authenticall record, is the Popes faire *Charter of Romagna*, with the Buttings and Boundaries precisely set downe: whose title thereunto is lawfull and good: for what can be freer than gift, if the Donor haue a proprietie and right in the thing giuen? And what right can bee more iust and lawfull than that of the sword vpon an *Vsurper*? Besides, the sonne confirms the fathers donation, which makes the title the stronger; and re-assures vnto the Church the Marquissate of *Ancona*, and Duchie of *Spoleum*. As for that other share in the *Ligurian mountaines*, *Furly*, and *Istria*, whereunto the Popes Proctors and Parasites haue entitiled him, and wherewith no Secular power euer inuested him, it is but an *Vtopian Signory* of the Popes: and if he should put in his claime, the States of *Venice* and *Genoa*, the Dukes of *Sauoy*, and *Mantua*, with other Italian Princes, would quickly put in their barré. But for this munificence of the French Kings to the Church, the Pope returned him a tribute, not of money or homage, (for hee held it as Lord Paramount, and so it was giuen him,) but of gratitude and thankfulness: In token whereof he gaue them the title of *Most Christian*: an honour which they in those times willingly accepted, and they & their successors since haue euer taken vpon them; yet was it not so sure

to them and their heires, but that it might be liable to forfeiture, if it pleased his Holinesse. For but 100 yeares since, vpon a displeasure taken against that King, he intended to take the title from him, and to bestow it vpon the King of England: the *Bull* was ready drawne for the Seale, and nothing wanted but the dispatch by messenger. And as here hee resolved to take from that Crowne, that Noble title of *Most Christian*, which he challenged to doe because he had giuen it: so, much about the same time, and vpon farre iustler cause, many Christian Princes and States tooke from him his proud title of *Supreme Head of the Church-gouernment* ouer them and their subiects: because Princes had formerly granted him that power for the generall good and benefit of the Church, which now they saw by their experience, and felt to their hurt, to bee by him most grossely and shamefully abused. But so much haue our disloyall *Loyolists* benumbed mens senses with superstitious stupiditie, as all that the Pope hath, must be beleueed to be *Iure diuino*; all that he saith, to bee *Gospel and Truth*; all that he doth, to be *holy and iust*. And herein none are so far from reason and sense as we of this Nation, that are farre remote from this Court, and see not the abuse: Nay we are so peruerse, as we will not beleue what we see in this case; but they that are neere it, and see dayly the contrary, are of contrary opinion. Let them read but *Guicciardines* conclusion of this Digression, (which that Church hath most wrongfully effaced without desert, and reprobued without answer:) hee was a worthy Gentleman, of a noble house, learned in the Lawes, experienced in the greatest affaires, well read in the most approoued Authors, allowed of all wise men for his iudgement, beleueed of all good men for his truth; he wrote not but what he saw by prooffe, or knew by reading; he complained not but vpon iust cause: Read they him, (I say againe) and bee satisfied in this point or neuer. For why should these poore ignorant men entrust those *Ignorations* onely, and none others, with the treasure of their dearest Jewels, their Knowledge, Iudgement, Conscience, Soule and all? Why may they not as well abuse vs with lyes from *Rome*, as they mis-informe

the simpler sort of Catholicks there, of vs? You shall see in some of their Churches, Tables hung vp to pourtray and expresse to the life, the seuerall persecutions of Catholicks here in *England*, in the late Queenes time, some worried to death in beasts skins by maltiffes: others pricked vnder the nailes with sharpe needles: others drawne in peeces with wilde horses: and almost all the seuerall sorts of torture represented vnto vs in historie out of the ten first persecutions of the Primitiue Church; to bring the simpler sort there in detestation of vs and our Religion: as by leasing and insinuation they bring the simpler sort here into admiration, or rather adoration of their Pope. But some of that Church (better experienced in our State-affaires, and more impartiall in their affections to vs) wonder at our stupide credulitie; others that stand ill affected to our Countrey, laugh at our simplicitie, and feed the humour euen at their owne charge, expecting when it should prooue the predominant Qualitie in the body of this our famous Iland, and by the fire inflammation thereof, set the whole in combustion. For ~~who is~~ so mad to thinke, it is our soules health they seeke? They seeke not vs, but ours: they seeke not the poore, but the great ones: they are wise in their generation, for they know one of these drawes with him a thousand; and the taking in of one principall Fort, brings vnder contribution the countrey round about. And they are wise in our generations also, for they know what Stocke in our countrey is fittest to plant on; and which timber in our Forrest is aptest to make their shafts of; *that the common enemy may haue his quiler full of them when wee meet him in the Gates of danger.* They are moreouer wise in our naturall inclinations: for although the Masculine sex bee more worthie than the Feminine, either in a Grammaticall construction or a Ciuill, yet they choose this latter; as the apter for their end and purpose, because it is the easier mislead, and the hardier reclaimed; the weaker to resist by reason, and the stronger to persist in wilfulnesse: new-fangled in their opinions as in their attire, louing nothing that is vulgar, no nor the truth.

And lastly, they are wise in our Oeconomicall administration, for they know that mothers governe here *in chiefe* in the hearts of children: Fathers but provide for them, mothers feed them; fathers are austere, the mothers indulgent; fathers have the awe, mothers the love; fathers have the eye, but mothers the heart: from whom with their milke they sucke this Veriuyce, wherewith the teeth of many great families are set on edge, and whereby within these few yeares their number is increased here among vs to a greater proportion (it must needs be a weed it groweth so fast) than historie can summe vp vnto vs in *Rome* of good Christians, vpon the account of the first three hundred yeares. But returne we to our history. That prenominal Frontlet of *Most Christian*, the French King weares still as the fairest gemme of his Diademe: So is the *Real honour* of the Imperiall Maiesty conferred here vpon him. The Pope and the people of *Rome* giue the French this Title. For who but the Romanes should choosē an Emperor of the Romanes? And therefore he had not this power alone, much lesse of himselfe, but ioyntly with the rest of the citizens; And so by consequence, not as he was head and gouernor of the Church, but as he was Bishop of that city: for it was his place in *Rome*, and not his office in the Church, that gaue him this power; which was not of ordination onely in himselfe, but of suffrage with the rest. And surely most consonant it was to the necessity of the times, that as in the minoritie and weaknesse of the Church, the Emperor allotted her a Guardian of her own, to bring her vp well, to maintaine her rights & priuileges, and to defend her inheritance in his court of Wards from the intrusion of others, vnder the safe-gard & protection of the supreme Imperiall Maiesty: So now the whole State of this citie of *Rome* both Ecclesiasticall and Ciuill, in this vtter decay of the Imperiall power, should choosē them a temporall Head of their owne, vnder whom both those States of that Towne might rest secured from the incurfions and inundations of forraigne and fierce Nations, whereunto formerly it had beene subiect.

GVICCIAR. By which separation, the Emperours of Constantinople neither lost Sicilia, nor those parts of Italy, which running from Naples to Manfredonia, are list'd with the sea; for they were still vnder those Emperours. Neither for all this, was that power taken from the Emperour, That the election of the Pope should not stand good without the confirmation of the Emperour; in whose name Rome was still governed: Nay the Popes in all their Bulles, Priuiledges and Grants, expressed the Date in these formall words (Such a one our Lord the Emperour reigning.) In which easie subiection or Dependance, call it whether ye will, the Popes continued till the successe of things emboldned them to take the rule themselves. For the power of the Emperours beginning to decline first the Successors of Charles (while yet the Empire was among them) through their discord and ciuill war: and after by being translated to the Princes of Germanie, not so powerfull as were those other successors of Charles, by reason of the greatnesse of the kingdom of France. The Pope and people of Rome, by whose Magistrates she now began to be governed (though not without much trouble and tumult) derogating by all meanes as much as they could from the iurisdiction of the Emperours, established for a Law, That the election of the Pope should be no more confirmed by them. Which Law for many yeares was obserued or broken, according as by the alteration of their affaires the Imperiall power increased or diminished. The which growing to some strength in the race of the Othoes of Saxonie (Gregorie being likewise a Saxon and chosen Pope) through the loue he bare to his countrie, & hate to the Romans for the persecutiōs he had endured by thē, transferred to his own nation the power of choosing the Emperour, in such forme and manner as it is vsed at this day: forbidding the Emperours elect (to reserue to the Pope some prerogatiue) to take vpon them the Title of Emperour or of Augustus, vntill they had receiued the Imperiall Crowne. Hence grew the custome of their going to Rome to be crowned, and till then to vse no other Title but King of the Romanes, or Caesar. But afterwards, when the Othoes line was extinct, & the power of the Emperours diminished, by reason the Empire remained not hereditary in great Princes, then began Rome openly to draw her necke out of the yoke of the Emperours obedience.

ence, and many other cities with her rebelled, during the reign of *Conradus of Suevia*. The Popes of Rome also seeking to enlarge their own power, became as it were Lords of Rome, though many times through the insolencies and dissentings among the people of Rome, they found many oppositions. For the repressing wherof (by the fauour of Henry 2. Emperour, and then at Rome) the Pope by a law now made, transferred the power of choosing Popes vpon the Cardinals onely.

THe glasse of time from Christ to vs is halfe run out: the Empire is rent in two parts both in title and inheritance. The West Empire is giuen to *France*, the East is left to *Constantinople*: he of the West possesseth nothing of the firme inheritance, but the Imperiall Preheminence and Prerogatiue he retaineth still, in as ample and large manner as before. For, concerning his preheminence, all the Popes Bulles, Briefes, and Grants had their date running after this Tenor: (*Such a one, our Lord the Emperour reigning.*) And as touching his prerogatiue, he still confirmed the election of the Pope: without him the act was inualidous and frustrate, the new Elect vncapable, and the place void by law. But by whom was the Pope elected? By the people of *Rome*: a mutinous, seditious, and rebellious multitude: the people and the Emperour make the Pope, the people and the Pope make the Emperour. In both which elections, the people seeme to haue the more actiue part, the Emperour and the Pope the negatiue onely. But is the Pope elected by that many-headed monster the multitude, that will sing *Osanna* at noone, and cry *Crucifige* at night? comes he in by such an election, where the multiplicity of voyces ouer-swayes the validity of reasons? where commonly the greater part giue their *Placet* to the vnworthier party? Then surely many of our Forefathers feared iustly, that the Holy Ghost (whom they pretend to be President in all their Councils) had no Seat in such Sessions: and therefore denied the necessity of this Consequence, that being once Pope, all Christians are bound in conscience, and vpon paine of damnation, to obey him. But now commeth in a new election of the Pope, by a new

translation of the Empire, which after some 80 yeares residence hereditary in the successors of Charles the Great, is transferred from *France* to *Germany*, and there made Electiue. For these Princes being none of them so powerfull as a Monarch of *France*, the Emperour begins to lose his strength, and the Pope dares to take much more vpon himselfe than hee was wont, and to detract much more from others than in right he ought: he takes from the Emperour the prerogatiue of confirming the new elect Pope, and from the Romanes that double power which they had: Of electing the Emperour (which hee giues to certaine Germane Princes,) and electing the Pope of *Rome*, (which he giues to the Cardinals:) and surely had he referred to the Emperour his former right in the confirmation, this manner of election had beene much better than that other: not much vnlike our elections in the Church of *England* by the Deane and Chapter, confirmed by the King. For these Cardinals were at the first simple Vicars or Prebends of seuerall Parishes in *Rome*: but as the case now standeth, the election is altered *à malo in peius*, becaule they are not all as at the first, meere Church-men: some of them are not entred into any spirituall order (saue that of Deacon) & many of these he chuseth out of great houses, and of Princes bloud, without respect of age, learning or piety; being so young (as the Philosopher sayth) both in yeares and manners, as they are *Inidonei auditores moralis philosophiæ*, much more *Indigni Cardines sanctæ matris Ecclesiæ*. These men he dignifieth with titles, endoweth with reuenues, and inuesteth with great offices and tor-quots of Church-liuings, to maintaine their riot and pomp: that they may backe him with their great families and friends to support his vsurped authority and pride, which he voweth to hold fast, like *Iulius 2*: if not with *Peters* keyes, yet with *Pauls* sword: if not by threats and excommunication, yet by warre and bloodshed: like the enraged witch of *Greece*, *Flectere si nequeat Superos Acheronta mouebit*, if God will not hold him vp, the deuill shall: when paper and lead lose their force, he tries what fire and powder can doe. Now if these be the *Princes Electors of the Papacie*,

cie, what hand can Christ haue in their election, but his withdrawing hand of long sufferance? where the choice is only in the Cardinals, and the better part of these ouerborne by the greater, & these carried away with particular respects of enuy or malice, or to their proper ends of ambition and couetousnesse. Two third parts of the Consistory are sufficient to make a Pope, and be he neuer so insufficient or vnworthy, yet the election is Canonically. Looke into any of their Conclauces or Sessions for an election, you shall commonly finde three or foure seuerall heads of FaCTIONS (Minions to three or foure precedent Popes) by whom they had their greatnesse, and by it their followers: Among these you shall obserue such ialousies and emulations, such supplanting and subornation, such canuassing for voyces, such setting of stales, such working of friends, such vndermining of opposites, such promises and threats, such iugling and false play, that wee may truly say of the most of them, as is recorded of one, *They enter like Foxes*. with more cunning and cheating than is vied in the choice of any other Magistrate, in any state whatsoever. Nay there be such proficientes and craftsmasters in this art, as haue writ Comments vpon this text, & giuen the Cardinals a method and rules, how to carry this businesse with finest conueyance, for effecting their purpose, and electing a Papable creature of their owne. Surely these men may well choose him the Prince of the Churches State in *Italy* (as being Peeres of the same) and make him Supreme Gouvernor of all causes as well Ecclesiasticall as Ciuill, in those her Signories and Dominions: But to make him Head and Gouvernour of the whole state of Christs Church they cannot. Let them hold the power and prerogative of the Palatines & Castellans in *Poland* (where the Scipier is likewise eligible) to choose him Head ouer themselves and States, not ouer others, whom they little know, and haue lesse to doe withall. For what haue the Emperours to doe ouer vs? much lesse the Pope (his Vassall) and the Popes Vassalls least of all: who had all their authoritie and government originally from the Emperor. If they will not approoue our Bishops and Priests be-
cause

cause they haue not their ordination from them, as they had heretofore: why should we submit our selues to the Pope, or admit of this his election? For if this by his Cardinals be good, what was then that former, when the whole citie of *Rome*, Clergy and Laity, chose him, and the Emperour confirmed him? But if both bee allowed for good, and the authoritie exercised by both maintained for iust and lawfull; why should not the dignities and orders in our Church be sacred and holy, though the ordination be altered? whereinto none can enter among vs, but hee must first acknowledge an inward calling, and be approved for his conuersation of life, & sufficiencie of learning, besides other things necessarily required by our Canons. But what calling call ye that I pray you of the Pope here in Conclauē? For he comes not to *Peters* chaire at Christs call, (*Sequereme*,) as *Peter* did: But a young Cardinall of the later edition, and (perhaps) worst condition, a Nephew to the last Pope, and a Fauourite of the time, comes with his followers, out-numbers his opposites, and names his man: *Dixit & factus est*; The businesse is at an end: Onely the rest come in for companie, or for feare, when they see they cannot preuaile. For in the Cardinalls Conclauē, as in *Plutos* Parliament, there must be a consent. *Adfremuit Proserpina, allatrauit Cerberus, asciuit plebs, sic apud eos sanciuntur omnia*: The whole Conclauē conuenteth, euery faction propoundeth, the strongest preuaileth, the whole Quire consenteth, and then *Te Deum*, the new Pope is chosen. A new Pope indeed, and a new kind of Pope, farre vnlike those of former times. For now he absolutely shakes off the yoke of obedience to the Emperour. The citie of *Rome* it selfe also with many other great townes run into manifest rebellion against him; and this holy Head of the Church, becomes chiefe head of the faction, as appeareth in this next section.

GVICCIAR. To the greatnesse of the Pope, now also happened this new augmentation. For the Normans of whom the first was *William Fierabacchio*, hauing got from the Emperours of *Constantinople* the Countreies of *Puglia* and *Calabria*:

bria: Robert Guicciadorno one of that race, either to strengthen himselfe with some colour of Religion, or to bee more able to defend himselfe against those Emperours, or for some other respect; restored Beneuentum to the Church, as to it of right belonging: and acknowledged to hold the Duchie of Puglia and Calabria in fee of the Church of Rome: whose example one of his family imitating, and driving William one of the same stocke out of Puglia and Calabria, he recognized to hold those Prouinces in fee of the Church, Anno 1130, vnder the title of the King of both Sicils: The one on this side the Faro, the other beyond: The Popes not refusing, for their owne particular ambition and profit, to cherish and maintaine the tyranny and vsurpation of others. For which cause, pretending yet further (as the ambitious desire of man is neuer stayed) the Popes also began to depriue some of those Kings, that were not obedient to their commandements, and to grant those kingdomes to others. By this meanes they came to Henry sonne of Fredericke Barbarossa, and from Henry to Fredericke the 2. his sonne, all three successiuelly Emperours of Rome. But Fredericke becoming a sharpe scourge to the Church, (in whose time sprang vp the two factions, Guelphes and Ghibellines, the Pope being head of the one, and the Emperour of the other) the Pope after the death of the Emperour granted the inuestiture of those Kingdomes to Charles Earle of Anjou and Prouence, imposing vpon them a yearly tribute of five thousand ounces of gold, and with condition that thence after none of those Kings should accept to be Emperour: which condition is euer since expressely specified in all their instalments. The Kingdom of the Isle of Sicil being afterwards possessed by the kings of Aragon was in short time freed of that tribute, and of the Recognition to be held in fee of the Church. It is also a report (though not so true as what hath beene said hitherto) that Mawd the Countesse, a rich Princeesse in Italy, gaue to the Church that part of Italie which is limited by the riuer Pescia, and the Castle of San Quirico on the one side, and by the riuer of Tybur, and the neather sea on the other, now called the Patrimonie of S. Peter. Others also adde, that shee gaue to the Church the citie of Ferrara, but neither is this certaine. But that yet is more doubtful which some one hath written, that Autopert King of the Lom-

bards, in their most flourishing time gaue to the Church the Cocceian Mountaines, wherein they say is included Genoa, euen as farre as Prouence. And that Luitprand a King of the same nation, gaue her Sabina, a country neere Rome, Narni, and Ancona, with diuers other places.

NOW comes the Church of Rome to be entituled to both Sicils, that is, *Sicilia* it selfe still so called, and almost all that which at this day is called the Kingdome of Naples. She had that of *Romagna* lawfully: how comes shee by this? By the grant of an vsurper, a tyrant. She giues him the title of King; and he yeelds her the homage and fealty of a Vassall, as to his supreme Soueraigne. Thus for a time they hold good quarter and correspondency together *comme Larrons en Foyre*. But friendship baptized in Ambition and Tyranny, is quickly renounced: for not long after she deprives these French (Successors of *Guicciadorno*), and inuesteth the Dutch (Successors of *Barbarossa*) in these kingdomes; The father, sonne and grand-father, all three Emperours successiue. But the holy Father is displeased with this vngracious grandson, vpon some misdemeanour of his, and now in reuenge he begins to play *Rex* (it is not yet 500. yeeres since:) Now he begins to thunder and lighten like angry *Ioue*, and laies about him on all sides with his Keyes in the one hand, and his sword in the other: the Histories are full of the troubles and miseries of those times. But why did not he this before? Had none of those Christian Emperours formerly failed of their duty to the Empire, when they left *Rome* abandoned to the violence of the enemy? or of their obedience and awfull reuerence to the Papacy, when they placed and displaced Popes at their pleasure? If he had as great power before, why did he not vse it when he had as great cause? If he had it not then, why doth he not vsurpe it? The death of *Henry 3.* in *France*, & failing of the fire-work here in *England*, wil answer vs easily to this point. For the Pope, As he neuer approues a mischiefe till it be done, so he neuer challengeth a power till he be able by the sword, & sine force to maintain the vsurpatio. As here with his factio of *Guelphes* he did, against the Emperour and his *Ghibellines*.

But

But this fury against *Frederick* hath some colour of iustice; he might upon a forfeit giue or take *Naples* to whom or from whom he pleased; for he was the chiefe Lord (though by grant of a tyrant) but now of later yeares hee will giue the *West Indies* to *Spaine*, and the East to *Portugall*: he will giue *Great Brittain* to him that can get it, and a new world. (if there be any) to him that can find it. The vndertakers know well enough, they bee not his to giue, (except from him that said, *All this will I giue thee.*) But euery false Pretext is a iust Title to the sharpe sword of Ambition once vnsheathed: so that it is euident, there was neuer so couetous a taker, nor so prodigall a giuer. But if he will needs be giuing, let him do it of his own: let him giue out of *Romagna*; his title hath here beene tried, and proued lawfull: Or out of *S. Peters* Patrimony (a faire portion in *Tuscanie*) which is here somewhat doubted, though neither trauesed nor euicted from him. Onely I would intreat him to spare *Naples*, it is in a good hand already, and one that will hold it hard vnder his nose, and in spight of his teeth, though his Holinesse be much grieued at it.

GVICCIAR. Thus as the state of things varied, so varied the state of these Popes with the Emperours. For being at first for many ages persecuted by the Emperours, and after freed from this terror by the conuersion of *Constantine*, they tooke rest: and attending onely to spirituall matters, they liued as it were meere subiect many yeares vnder the shadow of the Emperours; and continued long after in low estate, being quite debarred from meddling with them, by reason of the *Lombards* greatness. But after that by the meanes of the Kings of *France* they had obtained a temporall power, they yet held strict amity with the Emperours, and depended wholly upon their authority, so long as the dignity Imperiall continued in the Successors of *Charles the Great*, both in memory of former benefits giuen and receiued betweene them, as also in regard of the Emperours greatness. After the declination whereof, they separating themselves wholly from their friendship, began to make open profession that the Pontificall dignity was rather to

giue lawes to the Emperours, than to take them. And therefore hating aboue all things to returne to their former subiection, and that none of the Emperours might attempt their former right, either in Rome or elsewhere (as some of them, either of greater force, or of more noble spirits had essayed to doe) they opposed themselves openly by force of armes against the Emperours, being assisted with those tyrants, which vnder the title of Princes (with the cities which had freed themselves) had quit their allegiance, and acknowledged no longer the authority of the Emperor. Hereupon it grew, that the Popes taking more and more vpon them, and vsing the terror of their spirituall armes for temporall occasions; and interpreting that as the Vicars of Christ vpon earth, they were aboue the Emperours; and that the charge of worldly matters in many cases appertained to them, they sometimes deprived them of their Imperiall dignity, and stirred vp the Electors to choose others in their roomes: and on the other side, the Emperors either chose, or caused to be chosen other Popes.

THis Recapitulation or Summary of what hath formerly beene said, brings vs to the full period of the Popes height and greatnesse, (though his ambition bee boundlesse, and his pride without period.) For now hee will no longer take lawes of the Emperours; but as *Vicar of Christ* will giue lawes vnto them. He proues it out of good authors, *The Tyrants and Rebels in Italie*: and by strong arguments, *Fire and sword, cursing and excommunication, armes temporall and spirituall*. But he carries it not so easily away: for the Emperoure encounters him at his owne weapons: *Fire against fire, sword against sword, father against sonne, Ghibelline against Guelphe*, with the effusion of much Christian blood; and all the miserable effects that bloody warre brings with it. Where is now our great Law-giuer, by whose wholesome and peacefull ordinances the whole Church should be gouerned? Where is this great Shepherds care of Christ little flocke, that sends them thus to the Chambers of death and destruction? Our *Lator-Legis* and *Pastor-Gregis*, is now become a *Legi-rupa*, and *Sanguis-fuga*. He hath turned *Pasce oues* to *Vesci sanguine*:

he hath passed his commission (as *Cæsar* did,) and is waded vp to the chinnerethorow the bloody *Rubicon*; and so is become Rebell to his Soueraigne Lord the Emperour, as also to the state of the Church, whereof hee had the gouernment by commission. Here therefore it is not amisse to consider as *Gamaliel* did; whence the Pope had this commission, whether of God, or of men? If of men, it must proue as other governments haue done: if of God, it must haue the foundation in Humilitie, the raising in Iustice, and the continuance in Peace, as the Gospell had: out of which holy Root can neuer grow such ranke weeds of Pride, Iniustice and Warre. But to say (as they of the Romish Church write) that if Christ had not left this Gouvernor to his Church, he had left the sheepe without a Shepherd; hath no necessitie of consequence: we may rather inferre, that it had beene a committing of the Lambes to the Wolfe. But a care he had of his Church, and so he testified: a Gouvernor he promised, and so hee performed. A Gouvernor that should euer comfort vs in all our tribulations and afflictions, and that should euer continue vs in his Truth, (*The Spirit of Truth*) to direct and guide vs in all the waies of Godlinesse, Verity, and Vertue. This Gouvernor he sent within ten dayes after his Ascension. Other than this to rule in Chiefe in the inward man, the Church hath none, and he ruleth still in the hearts of her children, and euer shall.

GVICCIAR. *The state of the Church being much weakned by these discords, and no lesse by the residence of the Court of Rome for 70. yeares together at the citie of Auignon, as also by the Schisme which followed the Popes returne into Italy: many great men vsurped vpon the cities in their owne countries, though in subiection to the Church, especially those of Romagna: which vsurpers the Popes either pursued, or not being able to ouercome them, made Grants of those places to the same men; To hold of the Church in fee; or else set vp other heads against them, and gaue (these) the inuestiture. Thus began the cities of Romagna to haue seuerall Lords, vnder the title for the most part, of Vicars of the Church: So the*

gouernment of Ferrara being giuen by the Pope, to Azzo d'Este, was after granted him vnder the title of Vicar: whose familie in proceſſe of time, was dignified with more noble titles. So Bologna being taken by Iohn Viſconti Archbiſhop of Millan, was after granted him by the Pope, vnder the title of a Vicariat. By like meanes, in many cities of the Marquiſate of Ancona, of the patrimonia of Saint Peter, and of Vmbria, (now called the Duchie of Spoletto) there ſtart vp ſeueral Lords either againſt the Popes will, or with his forced conſent. The like variations happening alſo to the Imperiall cities in Lombardie, it fell out very often that according to the current of the times, the cities of Romagna, and others of the Churches ſtate, reuolting openly from her gouernment, would acknowledge to hold thoſe places in fee of the Emperor: And thoſe that held Millan, Mantoa, & other Imperial cities in Lombardy, would acknowledge to hold them in fee of the Church. And in theſe very times Rome was gouerned of her ſelfe: though the Church held ſtill the name of the gouernment. For albeit at the firſt when the Popes returned from Auignon into Italy, they were obeyed as Lords of the towne: yet notwithstanding the Romanes ſhortly after, chuſing the office of the Bandereſi, fell to their old obſtinacy. Whereupon the Popes hauing little authority there, left the Towne, and reſided elſewhere: vntill the Townſmen being impouerished, and fallen into great diſorder, through the abſence of the Court; and the yeare 1400. approaching, in which they hoped (if the Pope were at Rome,) there ſhould be great concourſe of al Chriſtendome, by reaſon of the Iubiley: they made humble ſupplication to Pope Boniface, that hee would returne; offering to abolish the office of the Bandereſi, and to ſubmit themſelues wholly to his obedience. Vpon which conditions hee returning, and the Romanes attending to the gaine of that yeare; he poſſeſſed himſelfe abſolutely of the gouernment of that citie, and put a Garrifon in the Caſtle of S. Angelo. Whoſe Succeſſors, though till the time of Eugenius they had ſomewhat to doe, yet afterwards they gouerned that citie at their pleaſure without any further trouble.

WE haue formerly ſcene by what right the Church of Rome holds her temporall Inheritance in Italie:
Here

Here we see how wrongfully it is wrested and wrung out of her possession, and vpon what occasion. The Lords of *Romagna*, and other parts of *Italy*, see her much weakened by her forren wars with the Empire, & her intestine garboiles within her own bowels by a Schisme, as also that she is far from them, and the Court resident at *Auignon*, (the very reason of the Churches reuolt from the Empire) they take the aduantage of the time, & euery one gets a fleece. It was vniustly done of them (though shee were iustly serued, that had many times done the like vpon the Empire.) There is like reuolt in many Imperiall Townes of *Italy*: they all change their Copie. The Popes rebels acknowledge to hold of the Emperor, and the Emperors to hold of the Church. *Rome* also will not be ruled, shee will haue officers of her owne: and were it not that she is poore of her selfe, and cannot liue without the residence of the Court, she would no more than others liue vnder the presidence of the Pope. But necessitie driues the Romans to accept him for their Soueraigne Lord: & ialousie of another reuolt, makes him to keepe them in awe, by his Garrison in *S. Angelo*, (as now in these later times he forceth the world to obedience, by his Legionaries of *S. Loyola*.) Thus by a long series and tract of time, hath our Author brought vs from the infancie of the Church, and publike maintenance thereof by Imperiall authority, (the true time of the Churches Iubily) to the yeare of our Lord 1400. the second Iubily of the Churches Institution. For it began not till 1300. when it was ordained by *Boniface 8.* to be celebrate and solemnized euery hundred yeare: after that it changed to euery fiftieth by *Clement 6.* and since to euery 25. by *Sixtus 4.* The true reason of the Institution is here giuen vs, and the same (one of them) that we giue for our Marts and Faires; not to draw people from sin, but to draw multitudes to *Rome*; not for the good of Gods Church, but for the enriching of that citie and Court. Though the citie I must confesse, affords vs the better ware, and cheaper peniworth: for there we haue food, raiment and lodging for our money. But on the other side of the Faire (which is no better than a Fripperie of the rotten ragges of mans inuention,) as we haue nothing with-

without money, so we haue nothing for our money, but the ballets of Indulgences and Pardons, babies of *Saints-pictures*, Rattles of Beads and Medals, with other such hobby-horses, and trash, fit onely for such as wipe their noses on their sleeues; which the chapmen themselues stop mustard-pots withall, howsoeuer the simple, religious, pious, honest Buyer, holds them as they cost him, (deare.) And thus hauing likewise brought the Popes Holinesse to this yeare of Iubiley, (a true Iubiley to him, who neuer till now could bee peaceably possessed of Rome) our Author leaues him, and thurs vp this graue, learned, and necessarie Digression, with a worthy, iust, and Christian complaint, in this conclusion following.

GVICCIAR. By these foundations, and by these means, being raised to an earthly power, casting off by little and little, the remembrance of the soules health, and the Lawes of God, and bending all her thoughts to worldly greatnesse: No longer vsing the Spirituall power, but as an instrument and minister of the Temporall: Their cares and endeuours were now no longer a sanctitie of life, no longer a propagation of Religion, no longer a zeale and charitie towards their neighbour; but armies, but warre against Christians, managing their sacrifices with bloudie hands and thoughts, and augmenting of treasure: New lawes, new trickes, new sleights, to get money on euerie side: To vse the spirituall armes without respect for this onely end: To prophane sacred things without shame, for this onely purpose. The great wealth lauisibly bestowed vpon them and their whole Court, was accompanied with pride, luxurie, dishonestie, lust, and abominable pleasures. No care of their successours, no thought of the perpetuall dignitie of the Papacie. But in stead thereof, an ambitious and pestiferous desire to exalt their children, nephewes and kindred, not onely to excessiue riches, but to Principalities and Kingdomes. No longer conferring dignities and preferments vpon men of desert and vertue, but selling them alwayes as it were to the most giuer, or casting them away vpon persons apt for Ambition, for lust, and for shamefull pleasures. By which acts of theirs, the Papall reuerence being vtterly decayed in the hearts of men,
and

and yet notwithstanding their power being still supported by the effectuall and powerfull maiestie of Religion, and ayded much by the means they haue to gratifie great Princes, & those great personages which are about them, by preferments and other Ecclesiasticall grants; whereby knowing themselves to be in great respect among men, and that who so takes armes against them purchaseth much infamie, and oftentimes the opposition of other Princes, with small gaine whatsoeuer be the euent: and that if they conquer, they vse the victory as they list; and if they bee conquered, they haue what conditions they will: Ambition pricking them forward, to take from their neighbours both priuate estates and Principalities, they haue bene very often and of long time, the instruments to stirre up warre and new combustions in Italy. But to returne to my former purpose, from whence my iust sorrow, and the publicke losse haue transported mee, more farre than becomes the rules of Historie, &c.

THus farre Guicciardine: and where he leaues, take wee vp our complaint: and if Protestant Princes haue vfed that power which they haue immediately from God, to reforme these abuses, to redresse our wrongs, and to vindicate their right out of the hands of this Vsurper, who can iustly challenge them? For seeing the Church of Rome hath in croached and intruded yeare by yeare, by little and little vpon this Free-hold and Prerogatiue of Princes, as the yeare it selfe doth winne certaine minutes and seconds which in long tract of time breed a great alteration: they were forced to reforme the Churches in their owne seuerall States; as neare the truth and custome of the Primitiue Church as they could, euen as Rome hath reduced the yeare ten dayes nearer to the *Iulian* account: yet neither are these Reformatiōs without some small blemish, nor those Reductions without some small error, that both Rome and they might in all humility confesse, *All that is of man, to be vnperfect like himselfe. Let God be true, and euery man a liar.*

OUr defection is therefore not from what she was, but from that she is; from the Authority she at last usurped, not from the Religion she at first received: That, she cannot in justice establish but in her owne proper dominions, where the Sword of *France* hath made her absolute Princesse: This, God of his goodnesse hath left free to the world, to be maintained by the Scepter of Christian Princes, whose right of inheritance hath made them as absolute as her selfe. So that our Contestation with her, and Protestation against her Papall tyranny, is in the end like that in former times of the Barons of this Land (though not in the nature,) because theirs was against their naturall liege Lord and Soueraigne) who contested for their Franchisements and Liberties which were granted them by the *Magna Charta*, & deriued from those good old lawes of *Saint Edward the Confessor*. For this high Priest would take from vs that immunity and freedome we had at first, of owing our obedience to none but God and our King, and would bring vs vnder the yoke of his forraigne Iurisdiction, which in the good old world of the Primitive Church was not so, and whereof we are freed by our *Great Charter of the Gospell*; Given vs by the Father, Penned by the holy Spirit, Sealed by his deare Sonne, and witnessed by the death of many thousands of Martyrs.

Why then should the Papist inferre (I call him not Catholicke, for to be a good Catholicke is to be a good Christian, but to be a Papist is to bee a Romish Statist, a disciple of the Iesuite, not of Iesus:) why should he vrge (I say) that we renounce our Religion to God, by quitting our obedience to the Pope, when we see no such correlation betweene them? Nay we plainly discover a manifest *Antithesis* and opposition of the Preecept of the one, to the Practice of the other. Surely, let them say what they can; to be a Catholicke and to bee a Protestant, are not two seuerall Religions in the root: both are Christians, both build their faith and profession vpon Christ. He is the Rocke whereupon they stand: he is the Truth, wherein they agree; other truth than in him there is none.

But

But many falshoods there are, as thole of the Turke and Persian, who differ much in disputable points, yet are professors of one and the same prophane *Mahometan Religion*. The Turke holds himselte the onely *Musful man*, i. true beleuer; and the Persian to bee an heretick, and in a damnable way: So thinkes the Papist of the Protestant, but, *id populus curat scilicet*. As for vs, we are not so vncharitable to condemne all them of the Catholick Religion, because they differ in disputable points from vs; nor so ignorant in our owne, as not to be alwayes able and readie to iustifie it for the same which was planted by Christ, taught in his word, confirmed with miracles, and professed in the Primitiue Church. Now whatsoeuer concerneth Religion, belongeth either to God or to *Cesar*. The matter and foundation (which is the truth) to God, who hath the Ministers of his word to deliuer it: the manner and forme of exercising it (which is the gouernment) to the King, who hath those Ministers of the word, the Ministers of his power, to put it in execution. Of this neither ought the Papist to rob him, nor the Anabaptist to denie him. *Giue vnto Cesar what belongeth to Cesar, and giue vnto God what belongeth to God*. God spake these words and said, *I am the Lord thy God, &c.* Here is the matter of Religion, *By God. All that the Lord commandeth by his seruant Moses, that will we doe*: here is the obedience both of Priest and people, in the forme and manner: By the hand of *Moses* and Christian Princes, not by the mouth; not to teach them the truth, but to rule and gouerne them vnder the truth, and according to the vnchangeable and eternall lawes and ordinances thereof.

WE haue not therefore quit our first Colours of Christianitie, we fight still vnder *the Standard of the red Crosse*, like true Christians, which will euer dare to display it selfe for the maintenance of our Religion, and honor of our State: and I assure my selfe there are many thousands amongst vs (whom they presume to bee sure their owne) who when they shall see those Colours flying in open field, will with vs flie in the face of the common enemy, though he bring *the Banner of the Crosse* keyes be-

fore him. For howsoever they be nuzled and mis-led by their corner catechizings in matter of beleefe and conscience, yet if they be not wilfully blind, they may perceiue with vs, that the Pope seekes not to rectifie the Church in our State for the truths sake, but to regaine his vsurped authoritie in our Church for his profits sake: would wee but giue him this, hee would giue vs leaue to beleue what we list.

WE march still therefore with all good Catholickes vnder him that is and was their Leader and ours from the beginning. We may differ from them in appareling, arraying, and embattelling our men: but our weapons are Faith and Workes of Piety, as theirs, and our end is all one: *We fight for life.* Here is the chiefe and maine point we stand on, We will haue a Prince of our owne, to goe in and out before vs: Wee will haue a Lieutenant of our owne, vnder Christ our Generall, in this our Christian warfare, to gouerne our campe, and keepe vs vnder military Discipline: we like not the Venetian manner, to haue a forraine hireling chiefe commander of our troupes: Wee feare no vsurpation as they doe. *God and his Right* hath made our King what he is (next himselfe vpon earth) in these his dominions: hee will be no more, he ought be no lesse. And therefore him doe we follow, vnder him will wee serue, and with him will we fight, as in all his battels of Honour and State, so much more in an action of such consequenec as this, *Of life or death euerlasting.* If the Pope and his Cardinals haue clipped the wings of the holy Ghost, (who they say is President in all their Conclaues) that hee cannot flye ouer the Alpes to fetch a fit man for that holy Sea, (for now of late they haue resolued, *That no Tramontano shall be Papeable,*) why may not wee likewise establish by law, that no cause of ours shall by a *Tramontano* be determinable? why should not wee clip his wings of Ambition that would still flutter ouer vs, and pare his nailes of Auarice that would still be scratching from vs; so high mountaines, a large Continent, and a maine Sea being betweene vs?

Seeing

Seeing therefore the Sunne of Righteousnesse shineth vpon this land with the bright beames of his Gospell, which neither abrogateth wholesome and ciuill lawes, nor abridgeth the power of Princes ordained by them: seeing he hath drawne the Romish foggie mists of superstition and error from our eyes, and hath rained his sweet dewes of blessings vpon vs, In a religious King, a hope-full Prince, a peacefull Gouernment, a prudent Councell, and a powerfull State, able with his Sword to maintaine his right against what enemye soeuer to his power or peace: and seeing that nothing is wanting to make vs the happiest people on earth, but an vnanimous and vniforme concurrence in the Seruice of our God, and obedience of our Soueraigne: let vs all like true Israelites follow this our Moses out of that Egyptian bondage; let vs ioyne with the hearts of obedience and hands of assistance, in so iust a quarrell, for so good a Prince, against so Imperious an Vsurper. Let none of vs be any longer abused and ensnared, yea and gulled by these professors of *Lysanders* doctrine, who taught that children must be deceived with Chance-bones, and men with Oathes: So these, with the old stampe of the Deuills oracles at *Delphos*, of equiuocall amphibologies, and mentall reseruations, cosen and delude the World.

BVt *Rome* hath preserved a forme of a Church, and kept the bookes of Gods law, and Records of our Religion, from the fury of Barbarians, and ruines of time, else how had we knowne either the Law or the Gospell? They say very well, wee acknowledge it so, and wee thanke God for it, that made her the meanes: But what then? Did not the old Iewes preserve the old Testament for the Christians? Else how had these known, but by those venerable and sacred Records of Antiquitie, all the Prophecies which are there registred from the beginning of the world, of their true Messias, which haue since bene fulfilled in his comming? Were Christians therefore so bound to the Iewes, or *Rome* to *Ierusalem*, as not to forsake them when they had forsaken their fore-promised Redeemer? and not

to seeke a new citie of Peace in Christs holy Gospell ? Nay rather *Rome* had a fearefull example by them, that such old treasurers of the Truth may become Banke-rupt of all Faith and Pietie : that she may preach to others, and be her selfe a cast-away. Had they any such warrant, not to erre, not to fall ? Ought not shee with more care to haue preserved Religion in all Purity, and professed it in all Humility ? *Be not high minded, but feare : For if God spared not the naturall Branches, take heed lest be also spare not thee. Behold therefore the bountifullnesse and seuerity of God : Towards them that are fallen, seuerity : but towards thee, bountifullnesse, if thou continue in his bountifullnesse : oherwise thou shalt also be cut off.* A memorable caucat and feareful threat, from that Diuine, and Diuining Spirit of the blessed Apostle, euen to this very *Rome* with which we haue now our contestation. For such is our case with her, as was hers with the Iewes : we haue forsaken her, because shee hath forsaken her first Faith. The faithfull city is become an harlot. Let her therefore no more vpbraide vs with her three Conuersions of this our Land, we can more iustly challenge her of thirty subuersions she hath attempted vpon it. For, to attacke vpon the life and person of a Prince, to giue foment to treasons, and encouragement to Traitors, yea and reward also ; what is this but to seeke the subuersion of the whole State ? As for the last Fire-worke, all the powers of hell were combined in the conspiracie, and but hell it selfe can afford it a fit name, as but Heauen alone could preuent the danger. A Prier first inuenter of such hellish and sulphurious powder, and a Priest the latest practiser to put it to the vtmost prooffe : What worke call ye this, ye workers of iniquity, that sets a stigmaticall brand, and an indelible staine vpon your order for euer ?

BVt they say, *He that is not in the Bosome of the Church, is in the bowels of perdition : He that is not saued in the Arke, perisheth in the Waters : He hath not God for his Father, that hath not the Church for his Mother : Without the Church there is no saluation.* So say we: & that there is no damnation, disinheriting, drowning, or destruction, to them that are in this

this bosome of safety, ship of assurance, family of the faith-
 full, and society of the elect. But these propositions, how-
 soever they be spoken of the visible Church by the an-
 cient Fathers, yet most sure it is, that they meant not to tie
 them to the Church of Rome. For *S. Cyprian* vsed one of
 those *Maximes* professedly against *Stephen* the then Pope
 of Rome. And the Council of *Basle* pronounced the Pope (who
 would needs bee above the Councils) to bee a Schisma-
 ticke, and reue from the Church, because he ought to be
 subiect to the Church, *Quinto magis inferior est filius*.
 Could they bee perswade vs, that these *Maximes* of the an-
 cient Fathers were meant of the Church of Rome onely,
 and necessarily tied therunto, we would come flocking
 thither in such full troupes, as they neuer had the like Iu-
 biley there, and would all be humble suitors to his Hol-
 inesse, that the *Popea Sanna* might not be shut vp, so long
 as five and twentie yeres together, we would haue a con-
 tinuall and perpetuall Iubiley in Rome: wherein we would
 make no doubt to preuaile, hauing so good pleaders in
 our behalte, as that whole Court and City, who would
 be glad to pay well for the purchase, and yet be sure to get
 well by the bargaine. But this they shall neuer be able to
 perswade, that all that are vnder the Popes protection and
Benedicite are safe, as vnder the seuen-fold shield of *Ajax*,
 from all those perils which befall him who is fallen from
 the Church: nor they that are vnder his malediction and
 curse, are liable to all those spirituall dangers, from which
 a Child of the true Church is free. Wherefore, while the
 Church of Rome appropriates to her selfe whatsoeuer is
 said of the Church Catholike, either in the Scriptures, or
 Fathers, she doth but imitate the franticke Greeke, who
 when he saw any ships arrive in the Port of *Athen*, sup-
 posed them all his owne, and (without any warrant from
 the Custome-house) would offer to make seizure of all
 the wares. So she without any warrant of the *Dogana*-
Sanna of Gods word, or custome of the Primitive Church,
 will seize vpon this rich and heavenly commodity, and
 others must haue it but at second hand: She will haue the
 fee-simple of the Inheritance, and other Churches must
 hold

hold of her by Copie, and in Base seruice. Now what is this but to tye Christs Church to a particular place and people? And what is that but meere Donatisme, which admitted no Church in those times but that of *Affrica*? Is it not Catholicke and vniuersall both in place, and profession? Hath not Christ his Church in *Constantinople*, *Cairo*, *Rome*, and *Genewa*? in *Europe*, *Affrick*, *Asia*, *America*, and places yet vnknowne? Or hath God made all the world, but this little Angle of *Europe*, (and by their reckoning) not a moiety of that neither, for nought but perdition? *Nimis altum sapiunt*. This is to presse into the *Sanctum Sanctorum* of Gods secret counsailes, where none but the high Priest of our soules may enter: This is to dare looke God in the face, which *Moses* himselfe nor could nor durst aduenture. Let them looke lower where they are, lest they fall lower than they are. It is onely knowne to him who are his. His mercie is ouer all his workes, by this be will be glorified as well as by his iudgements, euen in places farre remote, where the sound of the Gospell hath not yet beene heard. Let them not therefore shut Charitie out of Heauen, though in this iron-age of the world she be almost quite banished the earth alreadie. Let the poore Fugitiue haue that place of refuge.

Wherefore let not *Rome* lay claime to the whole inheritance, who had iust title but to an elder daughters part, which she may also forfeit by breaking covenants. For I am perswaded that what the ancient Fathers gaue peculiarly to her, when she shined more gloriously than her younger sisters in the beauty of pure Religion, and white Robes of godly conuersation, if they were now liuing, they would againe take from her, vpon this plaine discouery of her defection and deformity. It is reported, that *Angelo* the famous Artizan of *Italy*, drawing the pictures of *S. Peter* and *S. Paul*, for a Cardinall, a good friend and benefactor of his, pourtrayed them with very red and high coloured faces; whereas neither the Scripture, nor any Ecclesiasticall history, nor any originall Tablet describeth them by such complexions: being asked the reason,

son, Becaule quoth he) if they were now liuing, they could not but blush at the pomp of you Cardinals, the pride of this Court, and the abuses of this Church in generall.

As therefore they cannot proue vs out of the Church, no more can they shew vs fallen from her vnity. From theirs we professe a diuision, and are now as heretofore ready to iustifie our parting. But Schisme, or diuision in our owne Church we haue none: we liue vnder the obedience thereof in all awfulnessse, with a more willing and lesse forced subiection than they: For what she commandeth we readily obey, and were it but a matter indifferent before the commandement, we now hold it a matter of conscience: because we acknowledge she hath this power ouer her owne children, by Gods holy ordinance, which bindes vs in this strong Tie of obedience, by the vertue of his word. We likewise reuerence the Order of Priesthood, that hath the Ordination from her, and acknowledge the power and vertue thereof: we confesse to haue our Initiation into Christianity, and to be made the members of Christ by Baptisme from the Priest: from him to haue our incorporation into Christ assured vnto vs by the blessed Sacrament of the Eucharist, or of the Altar, cal it whether you will, (for the one is but an Appellation from the Action, the other from the Place where it is sanctified.) From him we haue our Reconciliation to our Mother the Church, after our fall, by confessing our sinnes vnto him, and being absolued by him: knowing that if our confession be true, our contrition hearty, and repentance ynfained, he hath power by Gods ordinance to restore vs to the state of Grace, and to receiue vs into the bosome of the Church, otherwise not: For his Absolution is not absolute, it is but *ex Hypothesi*. Nay we farther confesse, that we cannot haue the participation of any of these graces and blessings, but by his Ministerie onely: for this is Gods holy ordinance in his Church, whereof we professe and maintaine ours to be a principall member. So that we haue not cast off the sweet yoke of Christian gouernment, nor are we those Libertines they would faine make vs: for whatsoeuer

our Church enioyneth, that will we, and must we do. If the command vs to an Anniverfarie and Stationarie confession of our sins to the Priest, we will obey: for we ought to go to him in case of doubt for instruction, and in case of conscience for comfort; and so we do: We are not such enemies to Auricular confession, as they take vs: but it is true, the Cubicular confession which their Priests vse here among vs, we do not allow, nor do I thinke the married Catholikes in *Italy* would euer admit it. If the command vs to adorne our Churches with beautifull Tablets & Apparements, to decke our Priests with seemly Copes & Vestiments, to grace our Seruice with Musicke of voice, Organs, & other instruments; and to burne Frankincense & other sweet odours in our Temples, (so it be not to driue away ill Spirits and Hobgoblins) all this will we do, as wel and as willingly as they. For all these do stirre vp the Spirits and powers of mans soule to a more liuely offering vp of his liuing sacrifice of prayer, praise and thankgiuing to God. These their Church enioyned, and many things more, as in themselves (*Adiaphora*) vpon very good reason, & to a most godly vse, till the abuse by corrupt vllage grew to hurt the Church more, then the vse at first did it good: and therefore may be abolished, as all other constitutions of like nature in that Church may be, and haue beene euen by *Rome* her selfe. As for their praying to Saints, worshipping of Images, and other Idolatries, our Church hath cancelled those Canons: for we Protestants haue not our *Deos maiores, minores, and Medioximos*, our Demi-gods, and gods of a higher straine and larger size, as the Heathens had. Our God is not like *Baal*, that must be wakened with loud crying, nor like the gods of earth vpon earth; that must be sued vnto by mediation. His Court is alwaies where himselfe is, euery where: we need no Postillions to send to him, nor Fauourites to speake for vs. We know not whether *S. Peter* can heare our Catholicks here in *England* and them in *Italy* all at once; no more than when he was at *Alexandria* he could heare or see them in *Rome*. And of their other punie and paper-Saints, *S. Roske*, and *S. Stock*, and such like, we doubt much more. Those

filly

filly soules therefore and poore Christians that preferre their suits by such Solliciters, were in poore case, if they could not enter the Presence but by their meanes: but this King of Kings is a searcher of the heart, and finding (that) sincerely affected to him, doth no doubt accept them. This is our charitable construction of them; and let this be their best comfort, till God who hath touched their hearts with the heat of Christian zeale, enlighten them also with vnderstanding.

AS for the Schisme and Rent among our selues, wherewith they vpbraide vs, it is not in principles of Faith, nor their conclusions: it is onely in matter of Church-policie: it is not growne to a Partie, it hath no Head, as theirs haue had when there were three Popes, & so three Heads at once. It is but of such as are fallen from one extreme to another; from the Tyrannie of Papisme, to the Anarchie of Anabaptisme: or to the Laocrasie of *Iohn a-Knox* or *Iohn a-Stile*. A thing which is naturall in the reuolution of Ciuill States, and so likewise of Ecclesiasticall. But our Church neither alloweth their Opinion, nor suffereth their Practise. They are sequestred and vnder censure, and liable to what the Canons of our Church layeth vpon them, which in matter of faith or obedience to gouernment, ought to bind the conscience of all that are vnder her subiection: and therefore *Maius peccatum habent*. For all Churches Constitutions agreeable to Gods word, are sacred & inuiolable vnder the gouernment wherethey are established, vntill they be abrogated by the same Authoritie: But Christians in other States are no way bound vnto them: nor we to those of the Roman Church, more then they to ours. Might we but agree in the principles of Faith, and their conclusions, this difference of gouernment might well be permitted, without any rent in Christian Religion, it would onely hinder the Rents of the Popes Checquer. In many of which Principles though they & wee differ much, and wherein both their side & ours haue beene too curious and busie, yet seeing the difference in most of them is rather *De modo essendi* then *de esse rei*,

(how it is so, then not to be so at all,) I see not at all why any of them should so censure vs, or we them, if there were as much true charity, as pretended zeale amongst vs.

NOW concerning these Disputable points of Religion, I would to God they and we had trauelled lesse therein: In some things it is superfluous to know much, in some things dangerous to search ouer-farre. When one offered the Philosopher to teach him the Art of Memory: I had rather (quoth he) thou wouldst teach me the Art of Forgetfulnesse: So in many of these cases, a simple ignorance is better than a curious knowledge: and in such a sense as this we agree with them, that Ignorance is the mother of Deuotion. For that Apple of the Tree of Knowledge is a dangerous fruit to taste, it hath a sweet relish but a lowre digestion; it pleaseth the palleate, but it breedeth corrupt bloud. Our first parents but tasted thereof, and all their childrens teeth were set on edge: it is a windy fruit, it puffeth vp: and this swelling impostume bred in the braine, falleth like a Catarre vpon the heart, where it quen- cheth the natieue heat of true Zeale, and drieth the Radi- call humour of spirituall Grace. Two Doctors of Phy- sicke sate at table together, and a third man in their com- pany, who had no learning at all in their Art, but a better stomacke than both they to his meat. The one of these was a Galenist, the other a Paracelsian. In the midst of the meale they fall in argument: The Galenist discourseth of the Retentiu faculcie in the stomacke, how the meat is there depressed for a time, and made fit for digestion; how thence a milkie iuyce is sucked by the *Mesaraica vena*, which is forthwith conueyed to the Liuer the workhouse of bloud; thence to the Heart, the store-house of spirit; and so these two, (the Liuer and the Heart) like two care- full Pourueyers, send of their prouisions by the Veines and Arteries (as by two common Road wayes) into eue- ry part of the little common-wealth of mans body. The Paracelsian, a professor and practiser quite contrary to the other, as well in this *Θεοκρατικῇ*, as in his *Διακριτικῇ*; in his or- der of Diet, as in his manner of Cure, opposeth himselfe
tooth

tooth and naile against all these assertions: partly out of opinion that the right was 'on his side, but more, out of a contentious humour and spleene which he bore to the others profession. They fall from argument to railing, so to chafing, and at last to bitter warre and deadly defiance: whereby, the meale they then made was hindered in the digestion, Choler increased in the one, Melancholy in the other, and the bloud inflamed in both: so as they were both taken away (without saying Grace) desperately sicke; the Galenist of a shaking Agew, and the Paracelsian of a Dead Passie. But the third man that fate by all this while, and vnderstood not the cause, though he saw the quarrell, hee would not therefore meddle betweene them, but fell heartily to his meat, while they fell hard by the cares; rose, and gaue God thanks, and with the strength of that meales meat, went on with good speed to labour out his dayes worke in his vocation, vntill the euening, when with his fellow labourers hee receiued his daies wages. *Thus is it with the great Rabbins in Religion, and the simple, honest, ignorant Christian.* Let vs therefore strue to doe more, and study to know lesse: Let vs fall to prayer and to practise, and leaue the pen and the presse. For it is a presumption to thinke we can pierce the marble hardnesse of Gods secrets with the leaden screw of our dull vnderstanding, or sound the bottomles depth of his Diuine Mysteries with the Plommet of our short-lined, and short-liued reason. He was a good Philosopher that professed no more knowledge but this; *Hoc scio, quod nihil scio.* So may he be a good Christian, who letting passe all transcendent & swelling knowledge, glories onely in this, to know Christ crucified: resolues onely in this, to liue alwayes to him that died once for all: and desires onely this, the fruition of a better life, by the merit of that precious death. Here is the Faith, Hope, and Charitie of a Christian, which three are all, in him that is all in all, in the worke of our saluation.

IT is therefore vnnecessary and vnprofitable to straine our wits, and beat our braines as they doe, about many of their superfluous and friuolous controuersies. That sacred

cred vessell of the purest wine, wherewith our soules are comforted to eternall life, the blessed Virgin *S. Mary*, what auaileth it them (when they all know shee was a naturall daughter of *Adam*) to search and dispute whether shee were borne in originall sinne, or without? whereupon their Seraphicall Doctours haue written so much, to amuse the readers, and abuse the time, which they should rather spend in the meditation of Gods Mercy with reioycing, or of his Iustice with trembling. Let them read the Scriptures, *which are able to instruct and correct, that the child of God may bee perfect.* For here they may vnderstand all is fit for them to know, and may find something not fit they should vnderstand. *Scriptura omnibus accessibilis*, there is thy liberty, and the doore open to thee; enter boldly, and gather of the fruit of this garden of *Eden*, from these lower boughs: *Paucis penetrabilis*, there is thy restraint, & the brasen gates barred vpon thee: beware thou presse not into this priuy Closet, nor pearch so high as this vpmost fruit, lest a worse thing befall vnto thee. What is needfull for faith and good life to saluation, is there so plainly laied open, as euen the simplest may vnderstand: Other abstruse secrets and hidden mysteries there be, so closely lockt vp, as the wisest themselues cannot attaine, may not attempt. So that, as the world made for vs by God, is the Mirrour of his power and prouidence: So this word left vs by him, is the only true glasse, wherein we behold his vnspeakable mercy, and vnsearchable wisdom.

MAny other such vnclesse questions as that former, they trauerse among themselues and canuas *Pro & Contra*, wherewith their tedious volumes are farced, which I will passe ouer, and touch onely a difference or two betweene them and the Protestants in more matcriall points, as in that of *Iustification*. They will haue no Faith without good workes, no more will wee; nor wee good workes without Faith, no more will they: If they tie good workes to Faith, and wee it to them, then hitherto wee agree (*de Facto*,) and the difference is no more (be it spoken

ken without offence,) then to tie the hose to the doublet, or it to the hose. Had they stayed here (which they might well haue done,) the quarrell had bene at an end, or rather none begun. But when they would needs proceed farther, to define (*de modo*) how we are iustified; and standing so much vpon good workes, would attribute their Iustification to the merit of their righteousnesse: we were then forced to enter the lists, and stand for the truth of *Iustification by Faith*; yet not ascribing it to the merit of Faith, but to the object of Faith, namely the merit of Christs redemption. But let them and vs leaue to strue any longer, except it be in well doing. Let vs both strue to haue both, so shall wee both be iustified: but if we want either, let vs assure our selues we haue neither. Let it suffice vs in this point, to know that we are iustified before God through the onely mercie and grace of our Lord and Saviour *Christ Iesui*, who in the worke of our Redemption, Iustification, and Sanctification, is *Alpha* and *Omega*, the first cause and the last. *He is the Way, the Truth, and the Life*: The way, whereby we walke righteously: The Truth, wherein we belecue stedfastly: The Life, whereon we hope eternally. The warrant of our actions, the Buttresse of our Faith, the Anchor of our hope. Christ is the root, Religion the tree, Faith, Hope and Charitie the branches; good workes are the fruit. Faith is the hand that layes hold on the cause: Charitie the foot that runs on in the course: Hope is the eye that lookes for the goale. Let vs then neither looke backe with *Lots* wife from this citie of *Zoar*, this Castle of comfort; nor prie further with these gazers about the Moone. Let no man aduenture to enter this deepe, (how, or why the great God doth all things,) which is not to be waded without danger of drowning: Be no man so hardie to towre so high, vnder paine of presumption, and arrest of high treason to the highest Maiestie, who will haue the *secre* of his secret counsailes and will beleecued and obeyed: but the *men* thereof neither pried into nor examined.

Concer-

CONCERNING that great myſtery of the *blessed Sacrament of Christs precious bodie and bloud*, wherewith the true receiuers are nourished to eternall life : that sacred Scale which he hath fixed to the hand-writing of his last Will and Testament, for performance of al Legacies promised vs in himſelfe, and keeping of all couenants between him and vs: if it be a Myſtery, why do they and we labour to ſearch ſo farre? If we apply it to the ſame uſe as they, why doe we quarrell ſo much? For, both they and we acknowledge, that when we receiue this *blessed Sacrament* worthily, & with that faith and probation of our ſelues which *S. Paul* enioynes to euery Chriſtian man in the performance of that action; we are there and at that time made truly and really participant of the very true and real body of our Sauour: (but by the mouth of faith, and after a ſpiritual manner.) Which two conditions, diuers of the moſt learned and moderate of that Church doe freely acknowledge. And therefore ſo far are we from holding this holy Sacrament to be a bare ſigne (wherewith they ſlander vs,) as we freely confeſſe, by the receiuing thereof worthily, to haue a true, liuely, powerfull, and effectual coniunction with his precious body and bloud, whom, as well in our hearts, as in all our exteriour actions we adore and worſhip. This is therefore the quarrell that we wiſh may be taken vp betwene vs : which we may well doe, if we will both confeſſe with reuerend *S. Auſten*, that Chriſt is there; but how? *Miſericordia quadam occulta*. He is there; that is his mercy and infinite power : we know not how; that is our weakneſſe and definite knowledge, till we ſhall ſee him in his glory face to face : Then ſhall we no more ſee darkly as through a glaſſe.

NOW, as they haue tired themſelues, and troubled the pure ſtreames of Religions current, with the puddle of their owne braine, and froth of their Philoſophy, in ſuch diſputations of controuerſie as theſe, wherof we need not be inſtructed in ſome, and in the reſt we ought not be inquiſitiue: but to reſt in the high myſteries of Gods ordinance, as in God himſelfe; (beleue that he is a Trinity of

Persons

Persons in an vnitic of Substance,) and dispute not how it is, or doubt how it may be: So haue they cloyed and surcharged the consciences of Christians with whole cart loads of Canons, Iniunctions, and Constitutions, more to the hurt then good of the Church, and more to the fettering than bettering the soules of her deare children. Heretofore in our lawes of England, this was a strong Conueyance; *I giue from me and mine, to thee and thine: & this a good Assurance, In signe this is sooth, I seale it with my Tooth.* And this a full Attestaton, *Witnesse Maud my wife.* Doe the great Deeds and Indentures with all their *Its* and *Prouiso*es make the Tenures more strong now adaies? Were not couenants then as well kept as now? were titles so often tried? *So is it with the Canons and Constitutions of the Romish Church.* Their Canonists haue done as much hurt with their Decretals, Paragraphs, and Glosses, as their Schoole-men with their Questions, Distinctions, and Sophistrie. Good lawes neuer so much broken, as since so many bad made: neuer so key-cold in charitie, as since they grew so fire-hot in Disputation.

BVt these Lawes and Ordinances of theirs are not binding, (as hath formerly beene said) saue onely vnder their Iurisdiction by whose Authoritie they are made: nor ought they be perpetuall, but onely so long as they quadrate with the conditions of the time; and that there redound lesse hurt to the Church by the execution, then good by the abolishing thereof. I will giue onely one instance, as I haue done in the former. What if the Church of Rome forbid Priests marriage, because they may be more freed from worldly cares, and attend better to the function whereto they are called? Shall this Law therefore stand perpetual: when by the corruption of mans nature, and iniquity of these euill daies wherein we liue, experience hath shewed vs too many horrible and abhominable facts in seuerall kinds of beastly and vnnaturall lust, which their Priests haue committed by being thus restrained? *Maculantur coitu illicito cum ipsorum grauissimò peccato: ubi cum propria uxore esset castitas. Vnde deberet Ecclesia facere fi-*

cut bonus Medicus, ut si Medicina (experientia docente) plus officiat quàm profit eam tollat. Atque utinam idem esset in omnibus constitutionibus positiuis. This is the Vote of a deuoted Catholicke of their owne. Besides, what if coniugall fellowship be forbidden Priests in *Italie*, and prostitution of harlots permitted, for feare of ouer-charging that Land with people wherewith it swarmeth already? (as by their owne Prouerbe appeareth: *Troppo. feste, troppo tempeste, troppo teste.*) Shall it therefore bind vs here in *England* where they haue no power to command, nor we like cause to be prohibited? For, we haue not the fourth part of people that they; nor they the moiety of good arable and pasture ground that we to maintaine them.

Here remains yet one other thing, wherein they of the Romane Church haue much preiudiced the sinceritie of Christian Religion, and that is, *Their Miracles.* For, as they haue beene too full of their Canonick Constitutions, and too free of their Philosophicall Conclusions, wherewith their great Tomes and Volumes are laden, like Cardinall *Campegius* Sumpters (with much trash, but little or no Treasure:) So haue they beene too lauish and vulgar in their hyperbolicall Miracles. A great Miracle sure it is (if it were true) that they should grow so thicke in the Popish drie Territories, and thriue so little in this moist Climate of ours. For if wee haue one in an Age, it is but of a Straw, and yet not worth a straw when wee haue it: A Miracle but of foolish fancie and vnsetled imagination; such a one as the Eye of conceit may daily see, if it looke vpon broken clouds; and the Eare of credulous fancie hourelly heare, if it listen to the ring of Bells. But let them no longer scandalize the Truth, nor think to cosen the world with this counterfeited kinde of coyne. Their Golden Legend of leaden lies is no more current. Men are no longer babes to take such Counters for good payment, or so simple to belecue they see a man in the Moone. Let them if they be wise, stampe vs no more Miracles of this Mint, lest while they endeouour to make men belecue what they see to be false, they be hardly trusted in what is true.

I dare vndertake there be more of these iuggling Miracles to be seene in the countries of Poperie, than there haue beene houres since Christ wrought his first Miracle at *Cana in Galile*: as appeareth by the Cruiches, Armes, Legs, and other Gambolls hung vp for shew thereof in all the Churches and Chapells of *Italie*; some of which haue beene so palpably forged, and so notoriously disco- uered, as all the fig-leaues in *Italy* and *Spaine* are not suffi- cient to couer their nakednesse; whereof the modester sort are much ashamed, confessing them to be *pia Mendacia*, and the wiser sort laugh at them. Of this kinde of stuffe *Rome* it selfe is stuffed more than any place else; where for my part I beleeued very few, but onely this (which *Colonna* obserued before out of *Guicciardine*,) That it is a Miracle God suffereth the pride and abhomi- nation of that Sea so long vnpunished. But of such mi- racles as this the whole earth is full: All the workes of God, from the great frame of the world to the most small and contemptible creatures, are *Miracles of his Power*: the stay and vpholding them in their first being, are *Miracles of his Prouidence*: the punishing of the wicked, and protecting his children (especially those he hath set to reigne ouer vs) are *Miracles of his Iustice*; whereof this our Land can yeeld the world two famous and vnmatchable In- stances, in the late Queene of happie memorie, and our Soueraigne Lord the King that now is; by their seuerall, many and miraculous deliuerances, such as *Rome* can shew none. Where *Theophylacts* Cup, and the Italian Fig hath made quick dispatch of diuers Popes in a short time. What should I speake of those great *Miracles of Gods infinite Mercie*? The sending of our Saniour into the world; his Incarnation, Resurrection and Ascension; and all other workes of his, as Raising the dead, Curing the diseased, Re- storing the lame and blinde to their limmes and sight, re- gistrd to vs in the sacred Chronicle of his holy word? These indeed were truly Miracles, such as all Christians are bound to beleue and confesse. As for those of the Romane Church, there is neither Truth in the Fact, nor Benefit in the Beleefe. I will onely instance in one of

my particular obseruation, and so conclude. In a Towne of *Italie* where I abode foure moneths, was a poore Trades-man, who liued in the place full seuen yeeres, and had neuer spoke, being generally taken to haue beene deafe and dumbe from his birth. This man vnderooke a Pilgrimage to the *Lady of Loretto*, the most famous and renowned Shrine in *Europe*, and comparable (if the Papists haue any) to that of *Mahomet in Mecha*. They say she is as rich in Iewels and Treasure, as famous in her Miracle-facultie: I speake this but by relation, I had not the leisure to goe thither, but the good hap I had (though no great happineffe) to see her Girdle at *Prato*, among many thousand moe that came to see it, (as they yeerely doe vpon the seuenth of *September*;) a rich one I assure you it is, and such as you haue none in Court. Saint *Thomas* had it of our Ladies gift, and carried it with him into *India*, and a Merchant got it from Saint *Thomas*, and brought it to *Prato*; where likewise is to be seene the Scull of Saint *Anne*, our Ladies mother; two singular great blessings to so little a Borough. Thus lies the Legend in the storie, but it is no part of this our Miracle: no more is that which is reported of this glorious Shrine, namely that the Chappell wherein it stands, was first transported by Angels ouer the *Mediterranean Sea* into *Slauonia*; where, because that Slauish nation did not receiue it with due reuerence, or (which is more like) rewarded it not with due beneuolence, it was againe by the same Porters carried sticke and stone ouer the *Venetian Golph* into *Italie*, where now it works wonders, and is not yet weary. Among which this is not the least, whereof I now relate. For this our *Mutolo* after some few weekes stay, many Orisons of his owne, and much prayer and fasting of the Fraternitie, receiued (forsooth) the ready vse of his tongue and hearing; and returned to the Towne whence he went while I was there, as perfect a prater of Italian as the best. A Miracle of no small wonderment, and worthy Duke *Humfreys* obseruation, who discovered a counterfeit *Ceco* (that made the people beleue hee was borne blinde, and had got his sight at Saint *Albons Shrine*) because he could readily tell him the colour of his gowne:

So

So this Companion, though the strings of his tongue had beene loosed, yet should he not presently haue spoken so perfect language, without the greater Miracle. Inquiring what Countreyman he was, I found him to be born in the Marquisate of *Ancona* hard by *Loretto*: I needed no more for my satisfaction in this Miracle; for it is a thing vsuall among them, to suborne such counterfeits and *Spiritati* to worke vpon, for the more frequenting of their shrine, and better larding of their fatt.

And thus Sir haue I answered your letter, though not your expectation, in matter of higher predicament then I ought to meddle with my vnwasht hands: And therefore I submit my selfe to better Iudgements, and commit you (for better information) to them are able to instruct vs both. You see, I beleene not their Miracles: I am not bound to their Canons: I trouble not my selfe with their Controuersies: I yeeld the duty of a Child to none but my Mother the Church of England: I owe the Allegiance of a Subject to none vnder God, but my King. Will you haue in one word the whole Summary of Religion? Loue God aboue all, and thy neighbour as thy selfe: There is the Law and the Prophets, and in them thy lesson. Christ came into the world to saue Sinners, whereof thou art one: There is the Gospell, and in it thy comfort. Of other things besides these take thou heede my Son, for there is none end in making many bookes, and much reading is a wearinesse of the flesh: Let vs heare the end of all. Feare God, and keepe his Commandements, for this is the whole dutie of Man.

Hoc fac & viues.

R. D.

1 Jos. May. Jun^r Crowe

APHORISMES CIVILL AND MILITARIE:

*Amplified with Authorities, and exemplified with
Historie, out of the first Quarterne
of Fr. Guicciardine.*

LIP. DE GVICCIARD.

Prudens peritusque Scriptor, & qui tales Lectores suos facit.

BASIL. REX, DE HISTOR.

*Per historias veteres ire ne recusa. Ibi enim reperies sine labore, quæ
alij cum labore collegerunt, atque illinc hauries, & bonorum vir-
tutes, & improborum vitia: vitæ humanæ varias mutationes, &
rerum in ea conuersiones: mundi huius instabilitatem, & imperio-
rum instabiles casus: Et vt verbo complectar, malorum facino-
rum pœnas, & bonorum præmia: quorum illa fugies, ne in diuinæ
iustitiæ manus incidas; hæc amplecteris, vt præmijs quæ ea comi-
tantur potiaris.*

The second Edition.



L O N D O N,

Printed by M. Flesher for Robert Allot, at the signe of the
Blacke Beare in Pauls Churchyard.

1629.

Library of Congress
1887
City of Washington

Idem Ibid.

Senec. Theb.

Cic. pro Ros.

Luij.

Thucyd. l. 4.

Tibul.

Tacit. An. 2.

Græcorum ista cautio est, qui acta consignant, & deos invocant: nos religionem in ipsa fide nominamus.

(2) *Quoties necesse est fallere, aut falli, à tuis patiari potius ipse, quam facias scelus.*

Perfidiosum & nefarium est fidem frangere, quæ continet vitam.

Qui non reuerentur homines, fallunt Deos.

Fraus scelerior quàm aperta violentia.

(3) — *Etsi quis primò periuriam celat,*

Sera tamen tacitis pœna venit pedibus,

Perfici & ruptores pacis, ultioni & gloria sunt mandandi.

Virginio Orsini was tied in many obligations of faith and allegiance to the house of Arragon: he was naturall vassall to *Alphonso*: he was Captaine-generall of his armie, and high Constable of the kingdome of *Naples*: his sonne *Iohn-Iordan* had married the base daughter of *Ferdinand*; and by her had receiued great fauours, and possessed great estates in that Realme: besides, the warre betweene the Pope and his Master, grew first vpon his quarrell. All this notwithstanding, he causeth his sons to accord with the French king, binding themselues to supply victuals, and giue free passage to his armie through all the estates they held within the iurisdiction of the Church. They deliuer vp *Campagnana* and some other townes of good strength and great importance, for the kings affaires, to the Cardinall *Gurgense*, in *Deposito*, for caution of performance. They entertaine the king in their chiefe castle of *Bracciano*: by whom, both *Virginio* himselfe, and diuers others of his house, were not long after taken prisoners.

APHORISME LVIII.



S (1) *they say in schooles of Art, It is easier to oppose then answer: So they finde by prooffe in the art of warre, that it is easier and safer to obuiate and meete danger in the way, then to tarrie till it come home to our owne doores. (2) For, besides that the seate of warre is alwaies miserable, there is euer more courage in the assailer, and commonly better successe.*

(1) *Tutissimum est inferre, cum timeas, gradum.*

E meglio l' assaltar, che l' esser assaltato.

Senec. Hipp.

Rag. Stat.

Hiero

Hiero Syracusanus, persuasit Romanis, ad transportandas legiones in Italiam: ut & hostes in terra sua bellum haberent, minusq; laxamenti daretur ijs, ad auxilia Hannibali sumenda.

Expediit metum vltro inferre hosti, & ab se remoto periculo, alium in discrimen adducere.

Quand on voit venir le danger, il faut gagner le deuant, & n'attendre pas que le mal soit fait pour y donner ordre.

La Sicurezza consiste, ne'tener il Nemico e'l pericolo lontano da casa nostra: Perche, la vicinanza del male, è gran parte d'esso male.

Era meglio ch'egli andasse.

Inimici à tronar nella lor terra,

E sopra lor Campi alloggiasse,

Che dentro à le confine i' aspettasse.

(2) Inferimus bellum, infestisq; signis descendimus in Italiam: tanto auditiùs fortiusq; pugnaturi, quanto maior spes, maiorq; animus inferentis est quam arcentis.

Prouocando, tuus auges confidentiam, & aduersarijs minus: quia, fortiores videntur qui prouocare non dubitant.

Multum interest alienos populèrè fines, an tuas vri excindiq; videas: plus animi est inferenti periculum quam propulsanti: Ad hoc maior ignotarum rerum est terror.

Grande per l'ordinario, è l'auuantaggio di chi assalisce altrui, nella casa propria: perche tiene lontani de se i pericoli, & i danni maggiori della guerra: Accresce à suoi l'ardire: lo lena à nemici: & non pur con le forze, ma con la riputazione, & anco con lo spauento (che si mette à nemici) si fa la strada più facile alla vittoria.

The State of Venice and Duke of Milan, obserue with a watchfull eye the proceedings of the French armie. They consider how the chiefe forts in Tuscany, are deliuered him in caution: how he had left a garrison in Siena: had accorded with the Orsini; and that nothing stood in his way, but yeilded to his forces. They feare that the kingdom of Naples alone, will not content an ambitious king, puffed vp with the pride of so great successe. And therefore they treat of a strong confederation and forces to be sent in Alphonsoes aide against him: which though at first it found some let, nor could they send succors in time to Naples, as they were purposed, by reason of the shamefull flight of Alphonso, from before the face of the French armie at Viterbo: yet it was not long after, but the former treatie was renewed, the League confirmed, and forces leuied; whereas they gaue him a braue encounter in his returne, vpon Taro.

APHO-

Liu. l. 31.

Liu. l. 38.

Am. Plut.
Cato.

Rag. Stat. l. 6.

Ariost. agg. 2.

Han. ap. Liu.

Liu.

Liu. l. 38.
Scipio.

Paruta l. 2. disc. 5

APHORISME LIX.

THe (1) stronger giueth the law, the weaker must take the lesse of euills. Therefore if thou finde thy selfe ouer weake, make thy peace at as low a rate as thou canst. (2) For any conditions are rather to be accepted, then an vneui- table ouerthrow expected. (3) So horrible are the effects of warr.

Am. Plut.
Gracc.
Plaur.
Here, fur.

Am. Plut.
Phoc.

Liu. l. 25.
Cæf. bel. ciu.

Curt. l. 5.

Am. Plut. 10.
Reg. Seat. l. 6.

Bartas fur.

(1) Le plus fort donne la loy.

E malis, quod minimum est, id minimum est malum.

Pacem reduci velle victori expedit,

Victo necesse est. —

(2) Il faut tousiours accepter la paix, quand un puissant enemi la cherche & la presente.

Aliqua tolerabili conditione finies bellum.

Quauis tuta conditione pacē accipere malis, quàm cum valensiore certare.

Gubernator, ubi naufragium timet, iacturā, quicquid sanari potest, redimit.

Il faut s'humilier deuant ceux, que ont la guerre en la main.

Se l'aunersario sia tanto potente, che non vi sia speranza di poterci defendere, sarà ufficio d'un sanio Capitano, il riscoterli dalla ruina imminente, col minor male che si potrà.

(3) La guerre, — Casse-loix, Casse mœurs,
Rase-forts, verse-sang, Brusle hostels, Aime plours:
Desous ses pieds d'Arrain, crouille toute la Terre,
Sa Bouche est vn Brasier, sa voix est vn Tonnerre,
Chasque doit de sa main, est vn Charbon bruyant,
Et chasque son regard, vn Esclair flamboyant.

Alexander the 6. was one of the first that called the French king against Naples: and the first of all other, that had broken his faith, and the articles of confederation with him. The remembrance hereof, and of his infamous and symoniacall purchase of the Papacie, and leud administration in that his office, was a thing that terrified and perplexed him much: seeing the Cardinall of S. Peter in Vincola, & other his capitall & mortall enemies,

so

so neare in grace, and great in power, with the King, who now with his armie was approached nigh *Rome*, *Ciuita-Vecchia*, and *Cornetto*, with the greatest part of his country on that side the *Tiber*, were already lost, and at the French deuotion. He must put the Duke of *Calabria* and his army out of *Rome*, and suffer the King to enter, as he entred *Florence*, (armed on horsebacke with his Lance on his thigh) or else looke for no peace. It was a hard case to abandon his friends, and commit himselfe to the power of his enemies, before all differences were compounded, or his peace made: yet perforce he yeeldeth to those conditions, and further capitulates thus: That betweene them shall be perpetuall amitie, and confederation defensive: That the King shall hold *Ciuita-Vecchia*, *Terracina*, and *Spoletto*, for caution: That the Pope shall remit all offences to those Cardinals and Barons that had followed the French part: That he shall giue the King the inuestiture of *Naples*: That he shall deliuer him *Gemyn*, the brother of *Baiafet* the great Turke, whom (corrupted with the Turkes mony, for the summe of forty thousand Ducats yearly) he kept in safe custodie, lest he should cause trouble and rebellion in the *Ottoman* Empire: That hee should pardon the Prefect or Prouost of *Rome*, for intercepting the last yeares allowance of forty thousand Ducats at *Sinigaglia*: And lastly, that *Cesar Borgia* Cardinall of *Valencia*, should follow the Kings army three moneths (as Legate Apostolike in shew, but indeed) as pledge for these conditions.

APHORISME LX.



He (1) building whose ground-fels are rotten, may for a time be vnder-propped, and kept up: but when it is once falling, there is no possible meanes to stay it. So the Gouernment, whose foundation is laid in bloud, or banishment of the Nobilitie,

Nobilitie, and oppression of the Commons, may subsist for a while : (2) But when it once begins to fall, the downe-fall is violent, and sodaine.

Seneca.

Plin. Paneg.

Incer. Aut.

Sen. Her. tur.

Lip. pol. l. 1.

Sen. de Cle. l. 5.

Am. Plu. Cic.

Iuven. Sat. 10.

Lucan. l. 2.

Virgil:

(1) *Violenta nemo imperia continuit diu : moderata durant.*

Malos Principes detestantur, etiam qui malos faciunt.

Regna cum scelere, omnibus sunt exilijs graniora.

(2) *Semel profecto premere faelices, Deus—*

Cum caput, urgit : hos habent magna exitus.

Ad id ut nullis consilijs vel auxilijs, id vitemus aut mutemus.

Reges consensunt, liberisq; ac nepotibus tradunt regnum: Tyrannorum vero execrabilis, ac brevis potestas est.

Ceux qui veulent bastir leurs maisons, sur les ruines de l'estat publique, bastissent leur ruine propre.

*Ad generum ceteris, sine cede & vulnere pauci
Descendunt Reges, & sicca morte tyranni.*

— Sic fors incerta vagatur,

Fertq; refertq; vices, & habent mortalia casum.

— Sic omnia fatus

In peius ruere, & retrò sublapsa referri.

Rome is turned French. *Aquila*, & almost all *Abbruzzi* is revolted. The *Flower de Lys* is set vp in euery place. *Fabritio Colonna* hath taken in the countries of *Albi* and *Tagliacozzo*. The *Aniowine* faction is vp in armes. All the kingdome cries out of the former cruelties and tyrannies of *Alphonso*, and his deceassed father. The distressed king seeing now all things, not in the way of commotion, but of manifest precipitation and open rebellion; amazed with the terrour of this fight, and tormented with the horreur of his guiltie conscience, despairing of meanes to resist so fatall a tempest: and forgetting the reputation and fame he had got in his former wars; flies secretly with some few Jewels and treasure, into the Isle of *Sicilia*, and abandons all to the enemy, not acquainting either his brother or his sonne with his flight.

APHORISME LXI.



THe (1) conquest is easie, where there is neither valour, counsell, power, nor desire of glorie: though that be more noble which preuaileth against Resistance, and opens his way with his sword, where he findes it shut against him. (2) But the greatest and most glorious victorie of all, is, not onely to breake the forces; but to triumph ouer the broken and dejected heart of the vanquished.

(1) *Facile est vincere non repugnantem.*

Non ille solus vincitur hostis, qui cadit in acie, pondere armorum oppressus, & viriū: tutius etiam tuba tacente sub iugo mittitur voluntarius: qui sensit expertus, nec fortitudinem in rebelles, nec lenitatem in supplices animos, hosti deesse.

(2) *Censebant Achei, neque splendidam, neque firmam ullam victoriam, nisi quis palam & ex condito depugnans, animos quoque deiecisset aduersariorum.*

— *Nulla est victoria maior, Quam quæ confessos animo quoque subiugat hostes.*

— *Si decidit hostis Ire super satis est, vitamq; relinquere victo.*

Quæ vindicta prior, quam cum formido superbas Electit? —

— *Ignoscere pulchrum Iam misero, paucūq; genus vidisse precantem.*

Arist.
Curt.

Poly. l. 13.

Claudian.

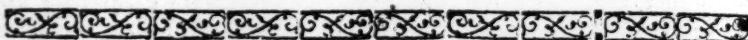
Stat. Theb. 8.

Claud. de
bel. Ger.

Id. Ibid.

Monte-fortino, a strong place belonging to Iacopo Conti a Romane Baron, is besieged, battered, assaulted, and sacked, all in one day, Mount S. Iohn, a peece likewise of good strength, is wonne in few houres, the souldiers all flaine, the towne rifled, and burned. S. Germane is one of the keyes of the kingdome, it hath before it the faire riuer Garigliano, whereupon it standeth, high and vnpassable rockes on the one side, and deepe marishes on the other. Here the new king Ferdinand, with an armie of fiftie Squadrons of horse, and six thousand choise foote, attends the coming of the French, and intends to bid him battell. Yet at the very first bruite of his enemies approach,

proach, he shamefully quits the place, and retires to *Capua*, thence to *Naples*, to appease the tumult there. Hee is no sooner gone, but the *Capuans* with their gouvener *Triultio*, render themselues to the French king. *Auvers* follows the example of *Capua*: and *Naples* of *Auvers*. Such faithlesse and faint-hearted resistance made the *Neapolitans*, and so easie a purchase had the French king of so large and noble a kingdome: having with an vncredible course of vnheard of fortune, and beyond the examples euen of *Cesar* himselfe, without spreading a tent, or breaking a lance, conquered all lets, before he came at them.



APHORISME LXII.



N (1) the active part of militarie service, the Captaines greatest vertue is to apprehend a present occasion of aduantage, and to take it. (2) So on the Passive side, the euasion from a sodaine and imminent danger, is much more noble then a forethought of preuention. For in this is onely matter of iudgement, but in that is the life of action and execution.

(1) *Id est viri & ducis, non deesse fortuna præbenti se, & oblata casu flectere ad consilium.*

Ars vincendi & bellandi est Prudentia, vt medicina valetudinis.

Mens vna sapiens, plurium vincit manus: qua fallere non vult, falli non potest.

*Atqui ego si mihi adsisas casia Diua,
Vel ter centum contra homines concurrere pugna
Ausim: te fretus comite, ô Dea, & adintrice.*

Ἡ ὁρῶντος ἀρχὴν ἴσως ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου. Principis propria est & unica virtus, prudentia.

(2) *Ma che giona (ohimè) che del periglio
Vicino, omai fosse presago il cuore,
S' irresoluto in ritrouar rimedio,
La mia tenera età rendesse'l timore.*

Yong Ferdinand had in open a fsembly made a speech full of compaffion to the *Neapolitans*. He had absolved them

Lincol. 18:

Cic. de. fin.

Lip. pol. 1. 3.

& Plutar.

Homer. Il. N.

Arist. pol. 2:

Tasso. cant. 4.

them of their oath and allegiance : with a noble and virtuous protestation, that whatsoeuer his fathers and grandfathers faults were in their gouernment, he for his owne part had neuer wronged any man while hee was Prince, or since he was King. All will not serue. The city is in reuolt. The king vpon his departure. When suddenly he had secret intelligence, that the Dutchguard in *Castel-nouo* (or the Palace) had resolved to seize on his person, and sell him to the French king. He presently apprehends the danger, and meanes of escape; thus : Hee bids the Dutch take present spoile of all his goods and furniture in the Pallace. They all runne greedily to the pillage. Meane while, hee with his Ynkle *Frederick*, and the old Queene his grandmother haue leisure to embarque themselues in certaine light gallies, and make their escape.

M 2



APHORISMES, CIVILL AND MILITARIE,

LIB. II.

APHORISME I.



Ontraicts (1) between States, must be tyed with a Gordian knot, that nothing but the sword, and fine force may vnloose them: else there lies a way open to the Deseizance; and the aduantage once discovered, is as easily taken. (2) Wherefore the Prouerbe, Fast binde, fast finde, is as necessarie a rule betweene States, as betweene man and man.

Auf. præfar.
Adag. Eras.

Suct. fol. 189.

Xen. in exp.
Cyr. l. 1.

Plaut. Aulul.

Ouid.
Tac. An. l. 1.
Lip. l. 4.

Plaut.

Hor. ars.

(1) *Alexander, fatalis ingi lora cum soluere non posset, abscidit. Quia sibi præcavit. i. Simul da & accipe: ubi res est cum homine parum certa fide, cui non sit tutum quicquam credere.*

Ceteros quod polliciti sunt tardè præstare: Tiberium quod præstet tardè polliceri.

Nonnulli dicunt te periculo imminente multa polliceri: sed si fortunâ prosperâ utare, nullius te rei memorem fore.

Quo pacto solent perplexari, Pactum non pactum est, non pactum, pactum est, cum illis lubet.

Pollicitis diues quilibet esse potest.

Plus in oratione tali dignitatis, quàm fidei.

(2) *Quando imminet periculum, nec rebus pub. nec Principibus credo confidere queas.*

Qui cauet ne decipiatur, vix cauet, etiam cum cauet, Etiam cum cauisse ratus est, sape in cantor captus est.

Nunquam te fallant animi, sub vulpe latentes.

It was artickled at Florence, betweene the French king
and

and that State, that he should hold *Pisa* in his hands, til his returne from the conquest of *Naples*: but the *Florentines* should still hold the Iurisdiction and profits. They thought all sure, because he had personally sworne it, in their Cathedrall Church, in a solempne manner, and generall assembly. He was no sooner on his way towards *Rome*, but the *Pisans* rebell, driue the florentine Officers out of the towne, imprison others, and spoile the rest, of their goods, not leauing one Florentine among them. Whereas, had the King giuen in charge to his commmissioners in the towne, and those commanders he left there in garrison, to see that duly performed, which hee had solemnly sworne: or had the *Florentines* taken French pledges for assurance thereof, that fire of rebellion had not broke forth in this City, which afterwards set all *Italie* in combustion: euen after the heate of the Neapolitan war, was raked vp in the cold embers of obliuion.

APHORISME II.



Here (1) bee some people that sleepe with their eyes alwaies open: such are ambitious Princes: for though their senses be sometime so bound, as they will not heare the truth when it is told them, nor see the danger that is manifestly before them: yet is the eye of their imagination euer watchfull, vpon euery aduantage, that may seeme to further their end; so as they neuer take houres rest in the sweete sleepe of Content. (2) And for want of sufficient meanes, or fit instruments of their owne, they sow the seeds of Discontent, and then blow the coales of Sedition in the hearts of rebellious subiects.

(1) *Libidinem dominandi, causam belli habent: & maximam gloriam in maximo imperio putant.*

Quid pessimam Dearum amplecteris, Ambitionem, o fili? Ne facias: iniusta hac Dea multas in domos & ciuitates ingressa feliciter, & egressa est cum periculo utentium.

Idem. Eurip.

Ambitio δεινὸν καὶ δεινὸν, malum formidabile: (Et alibi) ἀνδρὸς κινδυνὸς, calamitas eminens appellatur.

Ouid. 2. Met.

Afflatūq; suo populos, urbesq; domosq;
Polluit. —

Lucret. 3.

— *Auarities & honorum* cæca cupido,
Qua miseros homines cogunt transcendere fines — *Iuris.*

Lip. pol. l. 4.

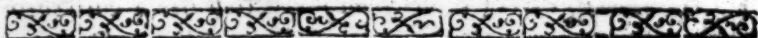
Tacit. Agric.

Ouid. Fast. 2.

Salust. de Metell.

(1) *O* artem nimis hodiè Principibus receptam.
In ipsa hostium acie, inuenies tuas manus.
Vbi vincere apertè non datur, insidias, armaq; secta parant.
Alios ab alijs diuersos aggreditur, ac paulatim tentando, postquam
opportunos sibi cognouit, multa pollicendo persuadet.

Lodowick Zforza had a great longing to the Soueraign-
tie of Pisa, euer since he was first there in exile. He calls to
minde that Iohn-Galeazzo Visconti (first Duke of Millan)
being Lord thereof by conquest, had giuen it to his base
sonne Gabriel-Maria. Yet because it was got with the mo-
ney and forces of Millan, hee thinkes his plea good : but
keepest the secret to himselfe, till a fitter time. And there-
fore, now that he findes the Pisans mutine, and ready to
runne into open rebellion, he thrusts them on; promiseth
secret aid : and deales vnder-hand with them of Genoa, to
help the Pisans with armour, munition, and three hun-
dred foot.



APHORISME III.



Emulation (1) of *Vertue*, in *great men* is ho-
nourable, but of *greatnesse*, dangerous. For,
many times it breaketh the necke of one, or
both the Riuals : (2) But it neuer faileth
of hindring their faithfull service to their
Prince and the State.

Adag. Eras.

Rag. Sta. l. 19.

Plut. in Thes.

Lucan. l. 7.

Tac. hist. 2. de
Mucian.

(1) *Emulatio* *Cos virtutis.*
Licorgo introdusse nella sua Rep. l' emulazione, come per vn fomen-
to della virtù.
Sic Thesei virtutem gloria incendit *Herculis* : & *Themistocli*
somnum ademit *Miltiadis trophæum.*
Stimulos dabat *amula* *virtus.*
Emulatio & proximi exercitus gloria, repulerat *seguissem.*
2 *Factiones,*

(2) *Factiones, — publica belli
Semina, quæ populos semper mersere potentes.
Stimulat non raro priuati odij pertinacia, in publicum exitium.
— O dirum exitium mortalibus, ô nihil unquam
Crescere, nec magnas patiens exurgere laudes
Inuidia. —
Inuidiam quod habet, non solet esse diu.
Vn sage Conseiller ne doit rien dire, ny faire pour faueur, ou pour
haine qu'il porte à aucun particulier : ains auoir esgard seulement au
bien publique.
Ne emulatio inter pares, & ex eo impedimentum oriretur.*

The Seneshall of Belcari, and the Bishop of S. Malò, were the two onely minions about the French king. S. Malò fauoured the Florentines : Belcari, enuying the greatnesse of the other, being lately made Cardinall (though he was the chiefe means to bring him in fauour at first, that he might the better keep down others) is corrupted with the Pisans money, but more with a desire to crosse the Cardinall, to fauour their part : and therefore he moues the King in their behalfe, and preuaileth : contrary to his oath, and honour, and to the great preiudice of his affaires on that side the Alpes.

Lucan l. 1.

Tac. Anl. 1.
Sill. l. 17.

Propert. l. 1. cap. 15

Am. in Phit.
Cato.

Tac. Anl. 2.

APHORISME IIII.



Ices (1) are stronger in the Aduerbe, then in the Adiectiue : and so be Vertues. To doe that is well, is better then to doe that is good : for, a man may do what is honest sometimes, against his Will : whereas in all Vertuous actions, there is a free election. (2) That Iudge therefore, who giueth sentence before both Parties bee heard, may iudge the right, but not aright. A greater iniustice it is to heare the equity of the Defendants cause, and yet doome for the Plaintiffe : for this man doth neither iustly, nor iustice.

(1) Ἀδικαί μὲν καὶ δικαιοπραγεῖ, ὅταν ἔκωι τις αὐτὰ ἀρετὴν. ὅταν δὲ ἔκωι, οὐκ ἀδικαί ὅτε δικαιοπραγεῖ. ἀλλ' ἢ καὶ ἀσυνεθῆκε. i. Iniuste quidem agit, & iuste aliquis, cum ea sponte agit : cum verò non sponte, nec iniuste quidem, nec iuste agit, nisi per accidens.

Arist. eth. l. 3. cap. 8

(2) Qui

Senec. Med.

Aristoph.

Sophocl.

Tschist. l. i.

Senec. Med.

Pub. Mim.

Horat.

In Aut.

Ariost. cant. 18.

(2) *Qui statuit aliquid, parte inaudita altera,
Æquum licet statuerit, hand æquus fuit.*

Πῶς ἂν ἀποδείξω μὴ δὲν ἀδίκους, οὐκ ἂν δικάζω. i. Indicare noli, nisi parte utraque audita.

*Vicissim audi, & deinde re cognita, indica.
Inauditi atque indefensi, tanquam innocentes pereunt.*

Si iudicas, cognosce: Si regnas, iube.

Legem Nocens veretur, Fortunam innocens.

Malè verum examinat omnis — corruptus Iudex.

Nemo erit innocens, si accusasse sufficiat.

— Il magnanimo suole,

*Sempre prima che dannar la gente,
Vederla in faccia, & vdir le ragion' ch'v'sa,
Differir anco e giorni, e mesi, e anni
Prima che giudicar ne gl' altrui danni.*

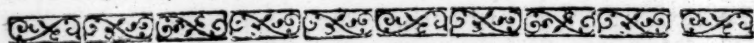
The case betweene Pisa and Florence, is heard before the French king. Burgundio Lolo pleadeth for the Plain-
tiffes; sheweth, that his citie hath eightie eight yeares en-
dured an vniust seruitude: that she which had beene
one of the noblest cities of Italie, and extended her
command euen to the East, was now by the crueltie
and auarice of the Florentines, brought to extreme deso-
lation. That many of her chiefe citizens; rather then to
be eye-witnesses of the tyrannous vexation of the State-
publike, and insolent oppressions of priuate men, had a-
bandoned their natiue countrey, and preferred a volun-
tary exile. That they were depriued their ancient trade
Of merchandize and only permitted to vse mechanicall
occupations. That they were debarred the executing of
any publike office, euen of those which strangers might
enioy. That the Florentine tyrannie extended euen to
liues whom they sought to suffocate and poison with
vnwholesome fogs, and dampes of infectious aire, by
giuing no order for the keeping of their banks, and drai-
ning the ditches of their marishes. That nothing remain-
ed to the Florentines crueltie and inhumanitie, wherein
they might farther plague the poore oppressed and di-
stressed Pisans: and therefore they humbly flie to his Ma-
iestie for redresse. Francesco Soderini, Bishop of Volterra,
answers for the Defendants: declares the right of their
title

title to *Pisa*, from *Gabriel-Maria Visconti*, the true owner,
 of whom they bought the towne, and territories there-
 unto belonging: proues, that they were no sooner in
 peaceable possession, but the Pisans by rebellious violence
 deprived them thereof. That by a long and chargeable
 war, they were forced to fight for their right: wan it by
 fine force, being almost famished: and brought in more
 victuals then armes, to recover their hunger-starved bo-
 dies. That *Pisa* was never of power to enlarge her terri-
 tories by land, so farre as *Lucca*, a towne within ten miles:
 and for her power at sea, it lasted not long: nay, by her
 owne ciuill discords, and seditious mutinies (before *Vis-*
conti had possession) she was brought to so low an ebbe,
 as *Ser Iacopo Appiano*, a base petti-fogging Notary, made
 himselfe Lord of the towne, and left the command there-
 of to his posterity. That *Pisa* was no way beneficiall
 to *Florence*, but by the fitnessse of the site, and neareness
 of the Sea: as for the exactions laid vpon her, they were
 so small, as they did little more then defray the charge.
 That they were no more debarred the trading in mer-
 chandize, then other subiects of their State, who all not-
 withstanding acknowledged to liue vnder a lawfull and
 moderate gouernment, and desired not to change their
 Lord: because they were not so obstinately and insolent-
 ly perfidious as the Pisans, whose seditious rebellion was
 now growne to a common by-word through all *Italie*.
 That they were so farre from depopulating the towne,
 as they had there planted a Vniuersitie, and recovered her
Ligorne, without which Port she could not subsist. That
 all possible care was yearely taken for the maintenance of
 her bankes, and cleansing of her ditches. So that finally,
 their lamentations are fained, their obiections calumni-
 ous, and their accusations false aspersions. And therefore
 he humbly intreats his royall Maiesty to tender the right
 of their cause, and force of his owne oath in that behalfe.
 The King, notwithstanding all these reasons, inclines to
 the Pisans, and will not restore the Florentines to their
 right: onely he declares not presently, vntill he had got

N

into

into his hands the seuentie thousand Duckats yet behinde, and due, by the articles of the late treatie.



APHORISME V.



Here (1) is no such fortresse for the safety of a State, as the breasts of subjects, armed with loyaltie and loue to their Prince and Country. (2) On the other side, nothing more endangereth it, then their perfidious and rebellious reuolt: which rebels seldome want succours from the forraigne enemy: not in loue to them, or care of their cause, but vpon some other gainefull or reuengefull purpose.

Am.in Tac. 1.

Claud. ad Honor.

Plin. ep. 8.

Claud. Pan.

Cic. Philip. 3.

Hom. Iliad 3.

Valer. 1. 9.

Am. Tac. Dem.

Tac. Ann. 1. 2.

(1) Non si ritroua fortrezza più sicura, che il petto del vassallo, armato della benenolenza, verso il suo Signore.

Non sic excubia, nec circumstantia tela,
Quàm tutatur amor.

Longè valentior amor ad obtinendum quod velis, quàm timor. Nam timor abit, si recedis; manet amor, ac sic, ut ille in odium, hic in reuerentiam vertatur.

Peragis tranquilla potestas
Quod violenta nequit, mandataq; fortius urget
Imperiosus amor.

(2) Quem discordia, quem cades ciuium, quem bellum ciuile delectat: eum ex numero hominum eijciendum, ex finibus humana natura exterminandum puto.

Ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἀπὸ τοῦ πολέμου,
ὅς τις πόλιν ἐξέσται ἐκ τῆς ἀνθρώπων φύσεως. i.

Nefarius, sine gente tribuq; est hic talis, qui ciuile cupit ferum & execrabile bellum.

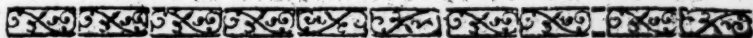
Proditio tantum incommodi humano generi affert, quantum salutis bona fides.

Les seditieux, & les plus grands traistres, se retirent vers les ennemis de leurs maistres.

Sic Antiochus, blandimentis aduersus plebem, fraude in Ducem, Barbarorum copias dissociat.

The Pisans, by instigation of Lodowick Zforza, and supportation of the French Kings Commissaries and garrison, shake off the Florentine yoke, banish their officers,

cers, and rob their merchants. They flie to the neighbor-States for aide. *Genoa* relieues them with men and munition, vpon an old grudge, euer since *Thomas Fregoso* their Duke, sold *Ligorne* to the *Florentines*, and lately more exasperate, by the fresh impression of their late losse of *Pietra-Santa* and *Serezana*. And *Siena* with *Lucca* (two professed enemies to *Florence*) furnish the *Pisans* with money. Lastly, *Siena* sends ouer and besides, certaine troupes of horse to their aide.



APHORISME VI.



*I*n iustice is neuer without some pretence to palliate her actions: and rather then faile, she masketh vnder the vizard of Religion, which makes her more vgly. Euen as ill-fauoured complexions, the more they are painted, the fouler they appeare: and misshapen bodies, by putting on rich apparell, seeme more deformed.

Per speciem sacrificandi obtruncare.

Semper aliquam fraudi speciem inuis imponunt.

Ne specie Religionis, in ambitionem delabantur.

Gl' huomini sogliono ricuoprir la loco ambizione, col velo della pietà Christiana.

Prinate cause pietatis aguntur obsecra. & cupiditatis quisque suarum, religionem veluti pedissequam habent.

Μὴ ναυτὸν ἀδικῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐξ ὁμοῦ βλοσυρὸν. i. Ne discescas iniuste, sed ex iniuste partis vine.

Ambitio, Religionis pratectu velata.

Vox in choro, mens in foro. Virtutem non colore, sed colorare.

Pudor impudentem celat, audacem quicq,
Pietas nefandum, vera fallaces probant.

—— Sapius olim

Religio peperit scelerosa, atque impia facta.

Nihil in specie fallacius, quam prana religio est: ubi Deorum numen praescinditur sceleribus.

L' iniustice cherche des pretextes, à fin de cacher son insatiable connoitise.

Malum ubi bonum se simulat, tunc est pessimum.

N₂

The

Tacit. hist. 5.
Li. pol. l. 32.
Tac. An. l. 3.
Por. in Guic.

Leo. ep. 23.

Phocylid.

McLanct.
Adag.
Sen. Hippol.

Lucret.

Liui. l. 39.

Am. Ph. Am

Senec.

Demosth.

Καὶνὰν συλλογὴν τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ τῆς διδασκαλίας.

Optimacie and Democracie, but it was disproportionali; for, this latter being hot in the highest degree, had the predominancie. Hence grew suspicions, iealoufies,

Ec 2

and

and factions among them: the nobler sort had lesse authoritie then was fit, and yet the populasse thought them ambitious, and challengers of more then their due. This factionall part of the people intrudeth into all deliberations of weightiest consequence, whereof they were vncapable. They change the supreme magistrate euery two moneths, and by that meanes the State-businesse is managed with manifest confusion. The great charges and troubles of a long warre, together with a present dearth and scarcity of all things, puts the citie into eminent hazzard. This ill disposition of the gouernment, and generall dislike of the present, encouragerh *Peter Medici*, through the Perswasion of the Pope, aid of the Venetians, *Petrucci*, *Aluiano*, and his other friends abroad, together with the sollicitation of those male-contents, and kinsmen he had in the towne, to attempt the recouery of his libertie, lands, and authoritie, that he had deseruedly lost in that citie. it is true, the enterprise succeeded not: not out of any failing of his friends, abroad, or partisans in the towne, but through accident: for he missed to come with his forces to the gate which was kept, and made good for him, many houres after the time assigned, being hindred by a sodaine and great fall of raine.

APHORISME XLII.



N(1) *ill executer of lawes, is worse in a State then a great breaker of them. Not to punish an offence, being vnder our charge, and in our power, is to commit it. There is no greater offence to the weale-publick, and quiet thereof, then a factious partaking and deadly Feud among the great ones. (2) Connivence therefore in a Prince, to winke at such factions, and slacknesse not to suppress them, is dangerous.*

Seneca
Philo.

(1) *Qui non vetat peccare, cum potest, iubet.
Qui enim castigare, aut saltem cohibere, cum possit, non cohibet: palam est, eum permittere, & penè mandare.*

Inducit

Inducit maximam illecebram peccandi impunitatis spes.

Quis cum m. tuet, apud quem conditum, immò constrictum ferrum sit?

Quid leges sine moribus vana proficiunt?

Mores leges perduxerunt iam in potestatem suam: Ea misera etiam ad parietes sunt fixa ferreis clavis, ubi malos adfigi erat æquius.

Nihil in discordijs ciuilibus festinatione tutius, ubi facto magis quàm consulto est opus.

Quos ipsa natura retinere in officio non potest, ij magnitudine pœna maleficio submoueri debent,

(2) On mesprise & deteste ceux, qui laissent viure leurs suiets en toute licence de mal faire, & confondent les punitions avec les loyers.

Ce que donne volenté & moyens aux hommes de grands esprits, de conspirer contre leur Princes, & d'attenter à l'usurpation de la couronne, est l'imbécillité & la neantise d'iceux Princes.

Cicero,
Sen. de Cle.

Hor. 3. od. 24.
Plaut. Trin.

Tacit. hist. 1.

Cic. pro Ros.

Att. Pla. Cic.

Haill. 1.

The factions, Guelphe and Ghibelline, increafe in the Churches State: and some notable ensuing mischief is feared. The Pope *Alexander 6.* carelesse of the afflictions of his subiects, or his owne honour, so it touched not his particular profit or pleasure, stirs not to preuent the mischief, or suppress the motion. *Aluiano* with his troops is called by the *Guelphes* into the towne of *Todi*. They lacke it, and put to death three and thirty of the principall heads of the other faction. In reue nge hereof, *Antonio Sauello* enters *Terni*: and the *Gatteschi* by the helpe of the *Colonne*, surprise *Viterbo*. In both which places the *Ghibellines* commit like outrage and slaughter vpon *Guelphes*.

APHORISME XLII.



Here are degrees of vices: and howsoeuer Ethicks out of their Philosophie determine those of excessse to be lesse odious and hurtfull: yet Politicks finde out of their experiene, that they are rather to be iudged by the effect, then the defect. By which rule, Lust and Ambition are two vices of all other the moste hatefull: Because they are most powerfull ministers to all nefarious actions.

Contra max res libido, astro percita, & in saniam proximè accedens.

Ee 3

Et

Tacit. hist. 1.

Ouid.
Seneca.
Cicero.

Sen. Hippol.
Idem, lb.

Cic. off. i.

Ficin.

Billi.

*Et ruit in vetitum damni secura libido.
Ambitio res ventosa, nullum habens exitum aut terminum.
Complures se scelere contaminarunt imperij cupiditate.*

Quaeque succensas agit libido mentes.

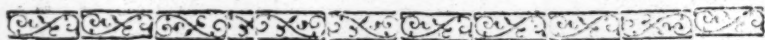
*Quisquis secundis rebus exultat nimis,
Finitq. luxu, semper insolita appetens,
Tunc ilum magna dira fortunæ comes
Subit libido.*

*Maximè adducuntur pleriq., ut eos iustitia capiat obliuio, cum in imp-
riorum, bonorum, gloriæ cupiditatem, inciderint.*

Libido Lex viro insipienti.

*In reliquis vitijs sequitur victoria pugnam,
Vincitur at celeri senu libido fuga:
Nemo etenim nisi qui metuet fugietque periculum,
Tutus ab hac poterit vinere peste diu.*

Caesar Borgia, Cardinall of Valentia, could not brooke, that his elder brother the Duke of Candia, should be aduanced by the Pope their father, to temporall honours, and be made Generall of the Ecclesiastick army: to which dignity himselfe aspired, hauing a spirit altogether aliened from priestly function. He was also enraged against him, because he was his corriuall and concurrent in his Armours, and shared with him in the fauour, and carnall vse of his Mistris. Hereupon he practiseth the death of his brother: and on enight as he rode priuately through the streets of Rome, he caused him to be murthered, and throwe into the riuer of Tyber.



APHORISME XLIII.



*N*ocuments (1) are Documents: and great afflictions are good lectures, to reformation of life and manners. For, the harder the pressure is with calamity, the deeper is the impression of our frailty, and liablenesse to misery: (2) But in a heart neuer moistened with the dew of Grace, and obdurate with the continuall practise of wickednesse and villany, they take no deepe root: Such mortars will still sauer of the garlicke.

(1) Et

Ἐξ ὧν ἴσμεν, ἕκαστος: Παθήματα παθήματα. *Notumta documenta.*

Miseria, Prudentia bona Mater.

— *Grande doloris*

Ingenium est, miserisq. venit solertia rebus.

— *Nec enim fortuna querenda*

Sola tua est: simile. aliorum respice casus;

Mitiùs ista feres. —

Ictus piscator sapit.

Quod fors feret, feramus aequo animo.

Istuc viri est officium.

(2)

— *Ad mores natura recurrit*

Damnatos fixa, & mutari nescia.

Naturam expellas furca licet, usque recurrit.

Le plus grand ingement, que scauroit auenir aux meschants, est, qu'ils se condamnent eux mesmes, & n'en denient pas meilleurs.

Vnicuique dedit vitium natura creato.

Quicquid infixum & ingentum est, lenitur arte, non vincitur.

Le Mortier sent toujours les Aulx.

Adag. græc.
Lip. ann. l. 3
Ouid. Met. l. 6.

Ouid. Met. ult.

Adag. Lat.
Terent. Pho.

Iuue. Sat. 13.

Horat. Serm.
l. 2. Sat. 2.
Am. Plu. Di.

Propert. l. 2.
Senec. de ira.
Pro. Gallic.

The Pope is overcome with sorrow for the untimely and violent death of his eldest sonne the Duke of Candia. He bewailes his losse with many teares: calls his owne former life into consideration: accuseth himselfe in open Consistory of his actions past, and whole course of life, till that present day: sheweth great contrition: promisseth amendment: and requires the whole Colledge of Cardinals to ioyne with him, in reformations of the disorders and corruptions of the Court: But shortly after, when he knew the author of the murther, and that Cæsar Borgia, his owne sonne was the assassinate, (which should haue aggrauated his griefe) he cooles in his burning zeale to reformation, and fals to his old byas of wickednesse and treachery, with a more vnbridled fury of ambition and couetousnesse, than euer before.

APHO-

APHORISME XLV.



IN Treason, the concealment is as capital as the practice: Here are no Accessories: All are in like predicament of offence, and danger of law: For, he deserues as ill of the State, that will not reueale a publike mischiefe and preuent it, as he that intendeth and practiseth it. Wherefore no punishment for such, can by law be too sodaine, or too cruell: though (vnlesse the delay doe much endanger the State) it ought euer be such, as the law in like cases ordaineth.

Valer. l. 9.

Cic. Catil.

Lip.

Cic. pro Mi.

Valer. l. 3.

Plat. leg. l. 9.

Salust. Cat.

Cic. in Ver.

Cic. pro Ma.

Curt. l. 3.

Senec. sent.

Tacit. an. 11.

Ioseph. f. 278.

Proditio tantum incommodi humano generi affert, quantum salutis bona fides.

Nulla potest esse, in tanti sceleris immanitate punienda, crudelitas.

Proditionis conuictos puni, & graniter puni. Nam insidiatori aut latroni, quæ potest inferri iniusta nex?

Impia proditio celeri pæna vindicanda est.

Δικαστὴν τῶν τοιῶν ἐστὶν, ὡς καὶ ἱεροκτόνους. Puniantur tanquam sacrilegi.

Ne sanguinem nostrum largiæ, & dum paucis sceleratis parcis, bonos omnes perditum eas.

Est utilis vnius improbi supplicio multorum improbitatem coercere, quàm propter improbos multos uni parcere.

Tua cautio, nostra cautio est.

Latius à domesticis hostibus munies.

Qui dubitat vlcisci, improbos plures facit.

Nulla cuiusquam misericordia, quia flagitiorum deformitas praualebat.

Facinus non admittit lenta concilia.

The conspirators with *Medici* are discovered in the citie of *Florence*: They are apprehended, arraigned, and conuicted by a lawfull triall. *Nicolò Ridolphi*, *Gianozzo Pucci*, and *Giouanni Cambi*, are condemned, for solliciting him to come: *Lorenzo Tornabuoni* for helping him with money: and *Barnardo del Nero*, for hauing knowne the conspiracy, and concealing it. All gentlemen, of the chiefest houses in *Florence*, and *Nero* at the same time Gonfaloners of Iustice, (the chiefe office in that State.) The kinsmen of the offenders appeale from this iudgement of the Senate, to the great Councell of the commons (as by the law of that

gouern-

gouernment they might.) It is propounded at the table of Senators, whether this appeale should stand good, or no, and is cast by voyces, on the negative part. The offenders are all executed that night in prison.

APHORISME XLVI.

Recedents, are no iustificable warrants of Pincers actions, when they are taken from those who are generally and iustly taxed of iniustice. Yet such is the deprauation of mans nature, as he rather imitates the worse, then the better : And in ill, to exceed : in good, to come short of the example.

Duo illa nos maximè mouent, similitudo & exemplum.

Id genus hominum vniversis est aduersum, atque omni populo malè facit: malè fidem seruando, illis quoque abrogant fidem, qui nihil meriti. Quippe ex eorum ingenio, ingenium horum probant.

Vbi semel à recto deerratum est, in præceptum peruenitur, neque quisquam sibi turpe putat, quod alteri fuit fructuosum.

Quod exemplo fit, id etiam iure fieri putant homines.

L'imitazione del male, supera l'esempio: Si come per lo contrario, l'imitazione del bene è sempre inferiore.

Prodest sine dubio custodere tibi proposuisse, & habere quem respicias: Longè autem melius est, cum iam profeceris tantum, ut sit tibi etiam ius reuerentia, & te cum feceris, cum quo peccare non audeas.

— Dociles imitandis

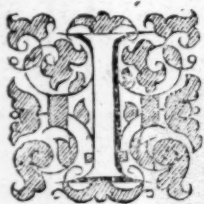
Turpibus ac prauis omnes sumus: & Catilinam Quocunque in populo videas, quocunque sub axe, Sed nec Brutus erit, Bruti nec auunculus usquam.

Iuuen.

The Spaniard seemes loth to abandon the Italians his confederates, to the power of the French. And yet now vpon a new truce concluded betweene them (which was to continue *ad beneplacitum* of both the parties, and two moneths after the reuocation) he quite excludes those Princes his alleies. They complaine of this his tergieration. He iustifies himselfe thus : That it was as lawfull for him to doe this, without their leaue or comprisall, as for

the Duke of Milan to make peace with France, at the treaty of *Vercelli*, without his consent or notice. But yet for their better satisfaction, he pretends that he will reuoke this truce, whensoever they shall rimbourse vnto him one hundred and fifty thousand Duckats, which he hath already spent in those warres: and when withall the Venetians shall quit their possession and interest in *Pisa*, for the common quiet of *Italy*.

APHORISME XLVII.



*I*ustice and Fortune are painted blinde: to shew vs what the one doth, and what the other should not doe: for, the one useth to giue without respect, and the other in no respect is to take. Those Princes therefore, that for bribe, feare, or any other particular end, faile of doing euery man right, swarue from the prescript rule of Iustice and Equitie, which admits of none to sit in her Seat but such, whose eies are seeled from respecting persons, and hands closed from accepting rewards.

car. 3.

*Iustum & tenacem propositi virum,
Non cinium ardor praua iubentium,
Non vultus instantis tyranni
Mente quatit solida.*

Tacit. an. l. 13.
Cl.udian.Phocylid.
Ex Hesiod.

Hor. l. 4. od. 9.

*Nihil in penatibus eius venale sit, aut ambitioni peruium.
Corrumpentia sensus dona: — Persuadere dona & dijs fama est.
Κεῖνον εἰς οἶκον ἔλκεται. Iudicium donis emptum.
Iudices, neque αἰσχροπολιτῆται, neque δωρεῶν ἐσθλῶν εἶναι δεβεντ.*

— *Bonus atque fidus
Iudex, honestum prae tulit utili, &
Reiecit alto dona nocentium
Vultu. —*

Iuuen. Sat. 18.

Hesiod. l. 1.

— *Provincia cum te
Rectorem accipiet, pone ira srena, modumq;
Pone & auaritia.*

*Οὐδ' ὅστις δίκας ἔειποναι, καὶ ἐν δίκῃσι δίδωται
ἰσθῆται, καὶ οὐκ ἔτι παρὰ καὶ νόμον δίκας οὐδ',
Τοιοῦτοι τὸ δῆλος πόλιν, ἀλλοὶ δ' αὐτὸ δύνανται ἐν αὐτῇ.*

*Qui iura tam hospitibus quam popularibus dant iusta, nec à iusto quicquam
exorbitant, ipsi viget urbs, populus verò floret in ipsa.*

Vir

*Vir iustus est, non qui non facit iniuriam,
Sed qui cum iniuriari possit, non vult tamen,
Nec qui à parvis capiendis instituit,
Sed qui magna sustinet non accipere,
Quamvis habere queat & possidere sine periculo.*

Philem. in
Palamud.

In the treatie at *Vercelli* it was articulated, that the Castle of *Genoa* should be left in *deposito* with the Duke of *Ferrara*, for performance of all couenants betweene the Duke of *Millan* and the French King: with *prouiso* to be redeliuered to the Duke at two yeares end, in case he kept all conditions couenanted in the treaty, and paid halfe the charge of the garrison for that time, otherwise not. The time is expired. *Zforza* hath failed on his part, in the performance of many couenants: *Ferrara* demands halfe the charges of the King. He yeelds willingly to pay it: And because *Ferrara* vrged that he had not his liquidation, and full reckoning for the rest of his charges, the King requires him to hold the place still, till the case were fully decided, to which of the two he ought to configne it: A demand very reasonable and iust. But *Ferrara* is ouercome by *Zforzaes* perswasions and flatteries, and by bestowing the Archbishopsricke of *Millan* vpon his sonne the Cardinall *d'Esle*: but most of all through feare of displeasing two so powerfull neighbours to his State, as *Venice* and *Millan*. He therefore deliuers the Castle of *Genoa* into the Dukes hands: receiving the remainder of the summe due for the guard of the place: and the State of *Venice* by way of gratification, giues his other son *Don Ferrando*, the command of one hundred men at armes in pay.

APHORISME XLVIII.

HE (1) that beares one blow at an enemies hand, asketh another: and he that endureth one contemptible neglect from his subiect, shall be sure of many. For, not to haue sense of a forreine affront, and be displeased at home-bred abuses, and capable to redresse

both, are things much derogating from the honour of a Prince : the first argues a pusillanimitie of spirit ; the other a debilitie of iudgement. (2) He therefore that will not be wronged the second time, must remedie the first : against a stranger, by the Lance ; against a subiect, by the Law.

Plu. de Cato

Senec. de ira.

Lucret. l. 5.

Tacit. an. l. 2.

Haiſt. Eſtat. l. 3.

Tacit. hiſt. 1.

Seneca.

Cic. in. Ver. 3.

Lip. poll. 5.

Sailly.

(1) *Impunita iniuria exemplum, omnibus minatur iniuriam: Etenim si liceat impunè laderè, nullus erit tutus ab improborum violentia.*

Veterem ferendo iniuriam, inuitas nouam.

*Princeps nisi se ab iniuria vindicauerit, — subuersa iacebis
Pristina maiestas soliorum, & Sceptra superba.*

Subitis offensis, vel intempestiuis blanditijs mutabilem, meritò condemnans.

Voy-la le mal-heur d'un ſiecle miserable & iniuste, de cognoiſtre l'inuſtice, & ne l'oſer dire, n'y en faire la punition : voy-la comment les Princes ſouuent cognoiſſent le mal, & iugeans au contraire, donnent l'absolution : eſtans à cela contrainſ per les temps, aux quels leur inuſtice ils donnent cette licence, et apres enricoyuent les premiers le mal.

Vitellius contemptior indies, ſenior q̃.

Granius eſt contemni, quàm ſtultiſſia percuti.

(2) *Vnius improbi ſupplicio, multorum improbitas coercetur.*

Sic crebra nimis ſit eorum inſolentia, & tanquam mala herba nimium ſuccreuerit, falce eſt recidenda.

— *Primo in limine ſiſte*

Conatus ſclerum, atque animos inſanda parantes.

The Duke of Ferrara ſends to Charles 8, to excuſe the conſignation he had made of the Caſtle of Genoa, into the Duke of Millans hands : an action of great inuſtice and wrong to the French. The King heares thereof without any manner of reſentment or diſpleaſure, as a matter of ſleight conſequence, though indeed it touched neare his honour, and ſtate of his preſent affaires, being ſtill reſolued vpon a perſonall returne into Italy. To this expedition, the ocaſion was neuer fairer, nor meanes ſtronger. For, the Florentines are willing to entertaine d'Aubigny, with one hundred and fifty men at armes, as Generall of their forces, and to breake the ice, and make the way to his coming. The Marquis of Mantoa, returning victoriously from Naples, where he had commanded vnder the Venetians, with great honour to himſelfe, and aduancement of their affaires, is by them now at his returne caſſed from his command : and in diſcontent, offers his ſeruice to the French

French King. The new Duke of *Sauoy* is assuredly his: *Bentiuglio* promisseth faithfully to follow his fortunes, so soone as he shall haue passed the mountaines. The Pope (yet doubtfull whether to ioyne with him, or be newter) is vndoubtedly resolu'd not to be against him. But his fauourites, and courtiers abuse him with variety of artifice: some inuent new delights and pleasures to stay him at home: others, propound many difficulties: the rest aduise him not to set forward, till he had such a maine power both at sea, and land, as no force the Italians could make, should be able to resist him: and all these, that he might be drawne to quit the action: as for *S. Malò*, who was chiefe treasurer, and had formerly failed in his seasonable and sufficient supplies in time of most need, and yet was neuer called to account to answer so great a neglect, he now at this instant vse his old trickes, of dispensing the kings money sparingly, slowly, and out of due season: and failed of sending the entertainement due to the *Orsini* and the *Vitelli*, a matter of great moment to the Kings seruice intended. Thus the King, whose will depended vpon the pleasure of others, cooles in the businesse so hotly intended: returnes fro *Lyons*: thence to *Toures*: so to *Amboise* castle, where he shortly after died.

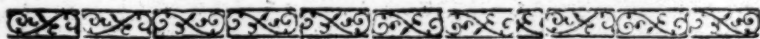
APHORISME XLIX.



AS (1) sacred things should not be touched with vnwasht hands: (2) So State matters should admit no vulgar handling: Prayer is here the Church-mans onely weapon. He must neither lift up his hand to reforme, nor his voice to reprove. To moue to trouble and commotion, is a motion Exentrick, and out of his commission. They are al in these cases barred Bye and Maine, except they be of the Councell, and in Councell. For seditious Preachers against the State Politicke, and scandalous inueiglers against the State Ecclesiastick, vnder which they liue, bring distraction in those States, and destruction to themselves.

(1) Tra Etare

congratulate with him, and also to lay the foundation of such an amity and peace, as the occurrence of their affaires should offer to them both. But the Florentines on the other side, who in the former Kings time were alwaies in strict confederation with him against the other Italian Princes and States finding themselves nortied to *Lewes 12.* in any such obligation of friendship and correspondencie, as they were to his predecessor, by the treaues of *Florence* and *Asti*; are now ready to fall from his alliance, and to combine with the Duke of *Millan*: hoping of better helpe in the neare and ready supplies of *Lombardie*, then in the remote and slow succours of *France*.



APHORISME V.



AS (1) in nature, so in gouernment, nothing is permanent that is violent. It is therefore hard to see a Tyrant old. For though for a time he vphold his State by force and policie, (2) yet in the end diuine iustice confounds his practises, and insatuates his counsels, to his owne ruine and ouerthrow. (3) For as in that mortall warre betweene the great Elephant and poisonfull Dragon, this one with his taile enclaspeth that others feet, making him fall, and he in his fall bursteth himselfe, and crusheth that other in peeces: So when Ambition and Enuie meet as combattants in the heart of a man, he needs no outward force to assaile him: for the venomous taile of his Enuie entangleth the winged feet of his Ambition, making him fall, and in the fall to burst with his owne weight.

Auer. Metap.
Arist. phy. l. 1.
Auson. fol 92.
Sarisb. l. 8.

Vell. lib. 1.

(1) *Violentum non est mansuum.*

Nullum violentum est perpetuum.

Felix criminibus nullus eris diu.

Origo tyranni iniquitas est, & de radice toxicata, mala & pestifera germenat & pullulat arbor, securi qualibet succidenda.

(2) *Quippe ita se res habet, ut plerumq; qui fortunam mutaturus est, consilia corrumpat, efficiatq; quod miserrimum est, ut quod accidit, id etiam meritis accidisse videatur: & casus in culpam transeat.*

Mentem

Mentem scilicet tunc adimit hominibus divina illa mens.

(3) *Elephanti perpetua discordia cum Dracone: Qui ipsum circumflexu facili ambit, nexuq. nodi perstringit. Commoritur eo dimicatione, victusq. corruens, complexum elidis pondere.*


Lip. pol. li.

Plin. nat. hist.

18. cap. 11.

Lodowicke Zforza, the poysoner of his Nephew, Vsurper of Millan, and Incendiary of all Italy, who had kindled the fire of all the late troubles in that country; sees now the Duke of Orleans (his competitor for Millan) advanced to the crowne of France. He perceives no possible meanes of attonement with him. He knowes by late experience, that all the States of Italy are not so availeable for his safety against France, as that one of Venice. Yet, in emulation of her greatnesse, that she should hold Pisa, and in enuy that she should reape the fruit of his long practices and trauailes, he ioynes at this vnseasonable and dangerous time with the Florentines against her, for the recouery of that city. Foolishly presuming, that the warre of Pisa would be ended, before the French King could set forward: and vaine-ly supposing that the Venetians were too wise, euer to condescend that the French army should againe returne into Italy, to satisfie any grudge or wrong of their owne whatsoeuer: A fault whereof himselfe had beene more guilty than any other. Which ill grounded deliberation of his, opened the floodgates to all his misfortunes, with the streame whereof he was afterward carried prisoner into France, and there died a most miserable exile.

APHORISME VI.

 He (1) Frogge and the Mousse were better take up their quarrell, than that the Kite should be their vmpire. For it hath beene a practice as old as since Philip of Macedo, to nourish warre betweene two neighbour Princes, to the weakning one of another, that the third, a stronger, might take his aduantage, and seize upon both. (2) It is therefore a prudent deliberation in the weaker

weaker (having smoked his drift) to compound their difference betweene themselves, and prevent the practicers designed plot.

Por. in Guic.

(1) *Zforzarsi con altrui spesa, far la strada à quanto egli con speranza haueua disegnato.*

Tacit. hist. 4.

Proinde arriperent vacui occupatos, integri fessos: dum alij Vespasianum, alij Vitellium foueant, patere locum aduersus utrumq.

Aristoph.
Sal. de rep. or.

Præus agitato & turbato stagno, sic capiunt anguillas.

Io. bel. lu. l. 5.

Ita desectos & exangues, præda futuros.

Plutar. Alex.
Alci. em. 125.

Hostium dissensionem, lucrum sibi esse sentientes.

Græcorumq. dissensio, causa Philippi incrementi & potentia.

Dum sanis ruerent in mutua vulnera telis

Vngue leana ferox, dente timendus aper,

Accurrit vulsar spectatum, & prandia capiat,

Herodor.

Gloria victoris præda futura sua est.

Polyb. l. 4
Isæph.

(2) *Καταλλάσσοντες τὰς ἐχθρας, καὶ τοῦ κατ' ἀλλήλους φόβου πολέμου. ἰ. Mutantes inimicitias & odia in concordiam.*

Sic Gnoſſi Gortinijq. inito inter se federe, & omnia communi consilio agentes.

Sic Iudæi visis Titi castris in monte Olinarum, in unum ordinem cogerere qui antea trifariam diuisi: & licet bello intestino sanguis per portas Hierusalem efflueret, contra Romanos tamen quasi unus vir.

Plur. de frat.
amor.

Eaq. in re par est imitari Cretenses, qui crebris seditionibus bellisq. ciuilibus exagitati, extrinsecus aduentantibus hostibus, pacem ac societatem coiuerunt: (Hinc verbum Syncretismus.)

Sharpe warres are betweene the *Orfini* and *Colonneſi*, both whose States confine vpon the Church. Many townes and castles are taken on both sides: it comes to a day of battle: many of them are slaine: their ensignes lost: the rest put to rout: and *Charles Orfini* taken prisoner. The Pope interposeth: offereth to be vmpire in their difference: dealeth with his wonted dissimulation and dupliciie, meaning to set them further out. The *Orfini* renew their forces: set downe before *Columbara* a strong towne of the enemy: the *Colonneſi* come to the succours. Here, before one blow giuen they call into serious consideration the Popes double dealing: how he had first animated the one side, and then set on the other: giuing foment to the warre and encouragement to the sides, with a purpose when they were both well wasted, to surpris both. Hereupon they come to a parley, and conclude an honourable and a profitable peace for both parties.

APHORISME VII.



Vch (1) is the force of Fate, as it can and will effect it ends, without any assistance, against all resistance. Yet commonly it worketh not alone, it is attended with second and subalterne causes, concurring in the partie himselfe whose ruine is destined.

(2) For, his counsailes end adiens alwayes change with his fortunes, and make the way to his downe-fall.

(1) Fortuna omnipotens, & ineluctabile fatum.

Solent quidem fata suis uti medijs.

Non è cosa più difficile à schifare, che il fato: nissun rimedio è di bastanza contra i mali determinati.

Qua fato manent, quamvis significata non vitantur.

Certa si decreta fors est, quid cauere prode, it?

Negli animi a ciecati dall' immoderata cupiditate, la Prudenza soffocata dalla temerità, non ha parte alcuna.

Nec declinari transcendiq; posse agmina fati & volumina.

(2) Ingenia tamen mentium nostrarum perinde sunt fato obnoxia, ut proprietates eorum est ipsa qualitas: est enim quasi fatale & consequens, ut mala ingenia peccatis & erroribus non vacent.

Pranalebant iam fata consilij, omnemq; animi eius aciem praestringerant.

Siue dolo, seu iam Troia sic fata ferebant.

Crede mihi, miseros prudentia prima reliquit,

Et sensus cum reconciliumq; fugit.

Neuer was Prince more secret and cautelous in his practices, neuer any lesse ouuert and more fained in his amities then *Zforza*: neuer had he more need than now of that warie proceeding, nor greater reason to keepe good quarter and correspondencie with the Venetians, at least not to sharpen or exasperate them with contumelies. Yet, contrary to his owne nature, and old wont, he breathes out many virulent opprobrious speeches, he braues them with many and imperious threats: he denies their souldiers passage through the Parmesan countrie: he causeth the Emperor to dismiss their Embassadors: he sends their enemies (the Florentines) three hundred crossebowes on horse-backe: he ioynes with them in the charge.

Virg. *Æn.* 8.

Mac. *disc.* 1.2.

Por. in *Guic.*

Tacit. *hist.* 1.

Auf. *fol.* 92.

Mac. *disc.* 1.2.

Cell. 16. c. a.

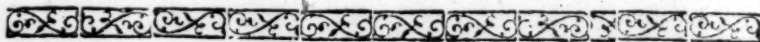
Id. *lb.*

Cell. 1. a.

Virg. *Æn.* 2.

Oui. *Pon.* 1.4.

of entertaining three hundred men at armes : he lendeth them money at severall times, to the summe of three hundred thousand Duckats and vpwads: and offers more aid, as they shall haue need. This distraction from *Venice*, and open profession of opposition against her, hastened his deserved and destined ouerthrow.



APHORISME VIII.



He (1) *Monarch* first propoundeth honour: then the publike good: and lastly proprietary interest and profit. (2) But the popular State euermore inuerteth this order: For it hath priuate gaine in the first intencion, the common good in the second, and honour in the last. Which diuersity of proceeding ariseth, not out of the different formes of their gouernment, but out of their different natures that gouerne. So great oddes there is betweene a Prince and a Citizen.

Tacit. An. 4.

Plut. ad imperit. ducem.

Sallust. Cal.

Claudian. ad. Theodo.

Plaut. Mor.

Aristain. l. 1. ep. 14.

Thucyd. l. 6.

Hor. ep. l. 1.

Cic. off. l. 3.

Guicci. l. 13.

Ouid.

Ceteris mortalibus in eo stare consilia, quid sibi conducere putent: Principum diuersam esse sortem, quibus precipua rerum ad famam dirigenda.

Tot tantorumq. bonorum & munerum quae diu largiuntur, nullus est fructus aut usus rectus, sine lege, iure, & Principe. Ius finis est legis: Lex, opus est Principis: Princeps autem imago Dei omnia administrans.

Gloriam & honorem & imperium bonus & ignauus aequè sibi exoptant. Si bonus, vera nititur: sed ignauus quia bona arte, desunt, dolis atque fallacijs contendit.

Nec tibi quid liceat, sed quid fecisse decebit Occurrat, mentemq. domet respectus honesti.

Reip. causa qui non id facit potius, quàm sui quæsti, animus haud induci potest eum esse cinem & fidelem & bonum, sed legirupam.

(2) *Non didicit mouere puellas tibia. Quæstui solo seruimus, non lætamur cantilenis.*

Cinitati principatum obtinenti, nihil non honestum quod utile sit.

O cines cines, quærenda pecunia primum est, Virtus post nummos.

Privatam utilitatem bono publico anteponunt.

Sogliono comunemente più ne gli huomini senza comparazione gli stimoli dell'interesse proprio che il rispetto del beneficio commune.

Vulgus amicitias utilitate probat.

Quar-

Quarrels had beene long militant and on foot, betweene the two States of *Venice* and *Genoa*. For, besides their ancient emulation and grudge, the *Genowese* were also of late growne iealous of the *Venetians* greatnesse and neighbourhood, if they should get *Pisa* into their peaceable possession; and therefore desired nothing more than to stop her course in that purchase. Yet are they content that the *Venetian* shipping employed in that seruice, should haue harbour and relecte vpon the coast of *Genoa*, paying well for it; and their Merchants trafficke and commerce with them, for such commodities as they need, because many priuate citizens had benefit thereby.

APHORISME IX.



He (1) Dolphin finding himselfe unable to hurt the Crocodile, by reason of his hard scales which no weapon can pierce, diueth vnder him, and with his sharpe finne striketh him into the belly being soft and tender, and so killeth him.

(2) What Nature hath taught the creature, Experience hath taught man: To strike the enemy where he may be most hurt, and leaue things impossible vnattempted. For Prudence is of force, where force preuailes not. (3) And therefore Direction is left to the Commander, Execution to the souldier: who is not to aske why, but to doe what he is commanded.

(1) In ventre mollis et nrisq; cutis Crocodilo: ideo se vs territi mergunt Delphini, subeuntesque alium illa secant spina.

(2) Nusquam culpâ malè rem gessit, semper consilio vicit.

De instantibus atq; improvisis verè & de futuris callidissimè coniiciebat. In obcundis expeditionibus, dubium cautior, an prudentior.

Essendo cassato di non esser molto pugnace, risposo: Che la sua Madre l'hauena generato, non soldato ma Capitano.

La Prudence doit conduire & manier la force.

Plerumque quæ secundum rationem hominibus prospera enuntiant, stabiliora sunt quam quæ præter opinionem.

(3) Parendo potius quàm imperia Ducum sciscitando, res militaris continetur.

Diuisa inter Duces Militesq; munia: His arma & manus sint, illis consilium & virtutis suæ specimen relinquunt.

Militem priuatū non solum debere esse ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῷ ἀρχὴν, ἔ.

Hh

Non

Plin.nat.hist.
l.8.cap.25.

Prob.delph.

Thucyd.de
Themist.

Suet.de Caf.
Bot.de Scip.
è Plutarch.

Am.Plu.8oc.
Thucyd.l.3.

Tacan.l.1.

Tacan.l.1.

Xenoph.Cyri-
ad.l.2.
P

Virg. Æn. 1.

Tacit. hist. 1.

Non solum valentem ad subeundum, sed & promptum ad parendum.

— *Tuus ô Regina quod optes* ...

Explorare labor, mihi iussa capeffere fas est.

Tam nescire quædam milites quàm scire oportet; ita se Ducum authoritas, sic rigor disciplina habet: si ubi iubeantur, quærere singulis liceat. pereunte obsequio etiam imperium intercidit.

The Florentine Generall sets downe before *Casina*, leuels the ground, razeth the impeachments, and makes shew as if he would take the place, and so march directly to *Pisa*. The enemy expects no lesse, and prepares to receiue him. But he, considering the obstinate resolution of the Pisans, their valour by long practice in war, the great forces of the Venetians ioyned with them, & the strength of their works and fortifications about that place, holds it impregnable. He resolues rather with time to wear them out, and with stopping their succours to distresse them, than by hazard of fight to forcethem. Therefore he suddenly riseth from before *Casina*, marcheth ouer the hills on the right side the riuer *Arno*, to impeach all passages by land that way. He encampes before *Buti* Castle, and takes it: he builds a fort vpon the mountaine *S. Iohn della Vena*: and another vpon *Pietra Dolorosa*. He brings vnder contribution all the *Val-di-Calci*. He takes by composition the fort which the Pisans had lately built vpon *Vico*: and shortly after *Vicopisano* it selfe: and lastly laies siege to *Verucola*. In all which important seruices, not so much his souldiers readinesse in execution, as his owne prudence in direction was remarkable.

APHORISME X.



He (1) countrie Cormorant makes his aduantage of his poore neighbours distresse, and raiseth the market as he sees his need. So a couetous Prince will not affoord one barley corne of his assistance, at a lesse rate then one of the fairest gemmes in his neighbours Crowne.

Crowne. A price so high, and his necessity so great, as he can neither with his honour grant, nor with his safetie denie.

(2) But in so disastrous a Dilemma as this he is rather to stake all his fortunes vpon one chance of hazardous battell, than to share with so couetous, ambitious, and false a friend.

(1) Insidiantur temporibus aliena appetentes.

Prosperis tuis rebus certant ad obsequium, fortunam aduersam omnes ex aquo detractant.

Après prospérité, nés au plus exultent. Ruente quercu, ligna quiniis colligit.

Quò utilitas vexillum suum prætulit & explicuit, illuc eunt.

Postulabant, non ut assequerentur, sed causam seditioni.

Crescit interea Roma Alba ruinis.

Sic Serpens Serpentem edit ut Draco fiat.

(2) Postulauit Alcibiades quæ admodum supergrederentur, ut per Athenienses (ei singentibus sanè postulatæ acquiescerent) staret, quò minus conueniretur.

*Ab nimium quod amice petis, moderatius opta,
Et voti quæso contrahere vela tui.*

*Iustam rem & facilem esse oratam à vobis volo.
Nam iussè à iustis iustus sum orator datus.*

Lip. pol. l. 4.

Tacit. hist. l. 3.

Scholia Th.

Lip. pol. l. 4.

Tacit. hist. 4.

Mac è Liui.

Adag.

Thucyd. l. 8.

Guid.

Plaut. Amph.

Pope Alexander desires to aduance his sonne *Cæsar Borgia* to temporall States, being now resolved to renounce his Cardinals hat : he sees the great distresse of *Fredericke* king of *Naples*, if he should forsake him, and combine against him with *France* : which he threatneth to do, vnlesse he will grant his daughter in mariage to his sonne *Cæsar Borgia*, and the Principalitie of *Taranto* to her Dower : presuming, if *Borgia* (of a high spirit and great reach) were once Lord of so important a member of that Realme, he might easily with his owne forces, and pretensions of the Church, driue his father in law out, being slenderly provided of men, worse of money, and hauing many of the Barons ill affected, and apt to rebell against him. *Frederick* discouers the match, and sees the mischief, which way soeuer he takes : therefore chuseth rather to reiect the offer, and stand to the hazard, than by his owne act to be accessory to his owne destruction.

APHORISME XI.



IN moraliie, it is a greater vice to commit a wickednesse, than to omit the doing of a vertuous act : So in martiall gouernment, it is worse for the souldier to do what he is forbidden in his owne campe, then not to doe what he is commanded vpon the enemy : For this onely bereaues him of some faire aduantage; but that laies himselfe open to all ambush and defeat.

Thucyd.l.3.

Νομίζετε τῷ τῷ χαλῶς πολεμεῖν, τὸ ἐδάειν, καὶ τὸ εὐχρώδης, καὶ τὸ πῶς ἀρχῶνται πειθεῖσθαι.
Velle, vereri, obedire, boni militis mania.

Veget.l.9.

Ne locum deserant, ne ordines turbent milites.

Idem.l.2.

Ne ultra quam expedit, aut conglobent agmen, aut laxent.

Lip poll.l.5.

Custodiendi milites intra limites, aliter soluitur militia tua, immò perit.

Valer.l.2.

Omnibus imperij neruis, ad reuocandam pristina disciplinam militia, debes inniti.

Tacit.an.13.

Remedium seueritate quaesitum est, idq̃ usu salubre & misericordia melius apparuit : quippe pauciores illa castra deseruere, quam eam quibus ignoscebatur.

Tacit.an.13.

Sic Pactium primipilum, tenere se munimentis & maiores copias operiri iussit, rupto imperio pugnantem; Corbulo increpitum Pactium, & praefectos, militesq̃, tendere omnes extra vallum iussit; Nec nisi precibus uniuersi exercitus exsoluti sunt.

Xen.inst.

Φιλοκλύδων κατ' εὐταξίαν. i. Periculum subire instructo ordine.

Cyri.

After the Pisans victory at S.Regolo, their souldiers together with the Venetian Estradiots range at pleasure vp and downe the countrie, in great troupes, and greater carelesnesse and disorder : They conforme not themselues to discipline, nor command of their Captaines. *Paul Vitelli* Generall of the Florentine forces espies the aduantage : lies in ambush neare *Casina* : lets suddenly vpon the Venetians, led by *Marco Martinengo* : puts them to flight, and kils many of the Estradiots, with *Iohn Gradenigo* Leader of their men at armes. He takes prisoner *Franco* a commander of the Estradiots, and a hundred horse besides.

APHORISME XII.

Hope (1) is in the mind of man, as is the vitall spirit in his body : the first that possesseth, and last that leaueth the heart. But hope fastened vpon no other ground but will, is like the Mushrome, which starteth vp in a night, and only of all other Plants growing without root, is easily blowne away, and perisheth. (2) So doe the actions of men, built vpon this light sand and loose hold of wilfull hope. Because it makes that seeme easie and feasible to the eye of their imagination, which reason and the euent shewes to be most difficult and dangerous.

(1) *L'esperance demeure la dernière en la boîte de la vie humaine.*

Spes quæ magna sunt, pusilla facit ; quæ pusilla, prorsus nulla.

Thales sciscitatus quid maximè esset commune omnibus ? Spes, respondit : hanc enim etiam illi habent, qui aliud nihil.

Spes nihil aliud quàm vigilantium somnium.

(2) *Nec quicquam potest esse diuturnum, cui non subit ratio.*

Hæc talia velut repente fatigata deficiunt.

Spesso è proprio de gli Huomini, farsi facile con la voglia & con la speranza, quello che con la ragione cognoscono esser difficile.

— *Che'l Miser suole*

Dar facil credenza a quel che vuole.

Nous embrassons volontiers l'esperance, quand ell' est conformée à nos desirs.

Alternant spes & timor & fidem.

Cum fallax vbi libet, tum in bello fallacissima spes est.

Nam multa præter spem scio multis bona euenisse : S. at ego etiam qui sperauerint spem decepisse multos.

The Souldiers in Pisa haue a great desire to surprize and raze the fort built lately vpon *Pietra Dolorosa* ; although it was strengthened round about with the Florentine forces, and they vnder the command of *Vitelli*, a prudent and vigilant Chieftaine : yet they hold the enterprize easie, if the attempt be sudden and secretly carried. To this purpose they present themselues before the place, early in the morning ere it was yet day ; with two hundred light horse, and some foot, (by report foure hundred.)

Am. Plu. Cat.
Cato. in Plu.
Stobæ. Serm.

Plato.
Veile. l. 1.
Curt. l. 4.
Por. in Guic.

Aristot. Cat. 1.

Am. Plutar.

Ouid. epist.
Petr. dia. 12.
Plaut. Rud.

dred. They finde greater resistance, and the place better fortified, than they expected. They discover *Vitelli* vpon the hilles, with one part of the army comming to their succours. They retire towards *Pisa*. They are met in the way by *Vitellozzo*, and followed at the heeles by *Vitelli*. Thus, hemmed in on both sides, they are broken, many horses lost, and most of the foot cut in peeces.

APHORISME XIII.

Statesmen must not alwaies be fixed in one Center of resolution, but mooued with the turning Sphere of their Common-weale: carried alwaies to that point of the circle in their present occurrences, wherein their publike profit and safety chiefly consisteth.

Cic. pro Pla.

Stare omnes debemus tanquam in aliquo orbe reip. Qui cum versatur, eam deligere partem debemus, ad quam nos illius utilitas, salusq. conuertit.

Tacit. An. 1.

Nonis ex rebus antei, tuta & presentia, quam vetera & periculosa malleant.

Cic. de or. 1. 2.

Ad consilium de rep. dandum, optimum est nosse temp.

Plat. de Mor.

Circa bonum Prudentia quadrupliciter se gerit; quum aut acquirit bona, aut tuetur, aut adauget, aut prudenter vitatur. Hi prudentia sunt canones, quibus ad vtramq. viendum est fortunam.

Theognis.

*Πολυπόδ' ὁ νόος ἵστα πολυφρονέ, ὅς περ' ὠτίηται
Τῷ περ' ὀμάλῳ, πῶς ἰσθὲν ἴσται. 1.*

*Polypodis mentem versuti sume, sub omni
Qui visu prabet se similem lapidi.*

Plut. de tra n.

Ὁ γὰρ ἵσται βυχαῖς βελτιῖνα, περὶ δὲ τῶν δάντων, καὶ τῶν ἀμφοτέρων. ἰ. Sapiens meliora optat, altera quoque expectat, utrisq. vitatur.

Æschilus.

Ὁ καὶ τῶν εἰδῶν ἵσται ὁ καὶ τῶν εἰδῶν, σφῶς. ἰ. Qui vtilia nouit, non qui multa nouit, sapiens est.

Vlyss. Aiaci.

Tu vires sine mente geris, mihi cura futuri est:

Ouid. Met.

Tu pugnare potes, pugnandi tempora mecum

Eligis Atrides: tu tantum corpore prodes,

Nos animo: quantoq. ratem qui temperat anteit

Remigis officium, quanto est dux milie maior,

—Tantum ego te supero.

The warres betweene the Florentines and Venetians in competition for the Seignory of *Pisa*, had lasted long. In al
this

this time the State of *Florence* neuer sent any Embassador to *Venice*, nor sought any accord. Partly, not to offend the French King, their confederate: partly, because they found their owne forces weake, and therefore not likely to preuaile in the motion. *Charles 8.* is now dead, and their forces very great by *Zforzas* meanes: besides they vnderstand by the Duke of *Ferrara* and others, that the Venetians were willing to an accord, if they were sought vnto, and treated with as superiors, not as equalls. The State of *Florence* altereth her former resolution: Makes choise of *Guy-Antony Vespucci* and *Barnardo Ruccellai*, two honourable personages, to goe thither in Embassage. They are admitted to the presence of the Duke and Councell, and haue audience. They excuse their sending no sooner, by the qualitie of the times, and diuers accidents of let, in their State. They demand a finall cessation from warre, and that the Venetians would relinquish the protection of *Pisa*. They are answered: that if a course were taken, whereby the Pisans might enioy their liberty, they would make it appeare to the world, that neither desire of dominion, nor any other particular interest of their owne, had caused them at first to vndertake that enterprise, or now to continue it longer. The Florentines can get no other answer: they returne: hauing thus farre sounded the Venetians resolution, that nothing but necessity could force them to quit the protection of *Pisa*.

APHORISME XIII.



Hile (1) the riuer runnes entire with all his water in one bed, his current is the swifter, and his force the greater, and danteth the most hardy to aduenture passage: But being diuided into seuerall streames, it prooues so slow and shallow, as it may with safety, and at ease, be waded ouer. (2) So is it in the current of warlike actions: Power vnited is the stronger, and the best meanes

ready, belonging to the house of *Austria*. Therefore, it is neither wisdom, nor glory, nor profit, nor safety, to purchase the sweet fruits of revenge with the manifest hazard of the whole State : wherein they must either be masters of all, or losers of all : Which whether be more likely, he refers to the L L. of the Senate. This opinion maintained with these and other weighty reasons, and approved of the graver and wiser sort, was over-ruled by number, and the contrary carried by voices through hate and ambition.

APHORISME XXV.

Great (1) affaires require many heads to advise, and many hands to effect. One braine is not capable of so great a charge, one arme vn sufficient for so insupportable a burthen. (2) A Prince therefore ought not to stand so stiffe in his owne opinion, though grounded vpon probable supposition, as not to yeeld to his faithfull Counsaillers, vpon more forcible and demonstratiue reasons. For, he that refuseth all counsaile, is worse then a beast : he that needeth none, is more then a man.

Tachist. l. 1.

Velle l. 12.

Comic. Græc.

Macc. princ.
cap. 12.

Salina. apud
Plutar.

Bodin. l. 3.

Idem fo. 303.
Vil. Fr. l. 12.

(1) *Nem est vniui mens tantæ molis capax.*

Magna negotia magnis adiutoribus egent.

(2) *Consultor ille sit tibi vir qui sapit.*

Sapientis enim consilia sapientis.

Triplex natura ingeniorum hominum: vnum per se intelligit; alterum, quam fuerit ei demonstratum; tertium, quod vè admonitum quidem, nedum per se in præstare potest. Primum illud maxime excellit: quod huic additur excellit quidem: at quod tertium est prorsus inutile est.

Nemo fidelius dare potest consilium, quam qui id alteri suaderet, quod ipse suis eodem loco effectus facturum fuerit.

Dubitat an præstabilius Principi sapientissimus sine consilio, an stupidius prudentissimus Senatorum multitudine abundans, Sapientibus quidem gentium horum probatur.

Palladem Ioni decumbenti aspidere: So. Senatorem Principi adesse oportere.

Consulere, atque omnes metuentem expendere casus.

Oportet

Oportet (Athenienses) eum qui boni aliquid facere nostrae civitati cupit, primum vestras aures sanare: corrupta enim sunt, adeo falsa & muta & quavis potius, quam optima audire consuevistis.

Demostorat.

The Venetian Embassadours treat of a league with the French: there is no scruple but only this, *They will not referre the cause of Pisa to his Maieskie.* The King takes their diffidence in ill part. He doubteth if he haue not this Tie, both vpon them and the Florentines, that he shall be assured of neither. He inclines rather to make peace with the Emperour, which treatie was then on foot; and propounded, that the one should warre vpon *Millan*, and the other vpon *Venice*, at the same instant: He assures the Florentine Embassadours, that he will neuer conclude with *Venice* vpon other conditions than he had already offered. But Duke *Valentino*, the Cardinall *S. Peter in Vincola*, and *Triultio*, with others of his Councell in this affaire, aduise the contrary, by effectuall, well grounded, and demonstratiue reasons. They alleage that he ought not refuse the Venetians, for feare to lose the Florentines, because their power was greater in forces, and meanes fitter in needesse, to oppresse the Duke of *Millan*. Besides, this deliberation might cause the Duke to quit the Florentines, and combine with *Venice*, whose forces conioyned, late experience had shewed at *Taro*, what effects they might worke. And to lay any foundation of assurance vpon the Emperour *Maximilian*, were most dangerous of all. He had made good prooffe at his last being in *Italy*, that his designs are greater in the proiect, than either his prudence to colour them, or his meanes to carry them: and in case he should haue successe, it were deeply to be weighed, how dangerous such a greatnesse would be, in a professed and perpetuall enemy of the Crowne of *France*. The King perswaded with the weight of these reasons, alters his minde, takes the wiser way, and concludes with *Venice*, without any specification at all of the difference of *Pisa*.

APHORISME XXVI.



Hose (1) dangers are least avoided, which are unknown or unexpected : (2) And those counsels are best carried, which the enemy sees in execution, before he hears them by relation. None in the army must know to what service Scipio leads his troupes, but only C. Lælius : nor is it fit, things determined in Councell, should be communicated, but to those without whom they cannot be effected. For as Expedition is the life of Action : so is Secrecie of Deliberation.

Seneca.

Lip. pel. l. 5.

Plu. de. Grac.

Tacit. hist. l. 1.

Tacit. an. l. 3.

Bod. l. 3.

Livi. de exp.
Scipionis.
Plut. in Rom.

Plu. de. Grac.

Capitol. ad
Dioclesian.

Am. de Secr.

(1) *Citius venit periculum, cum contemnitur.**Inopinata magis premunt mala.*(2) *Anima consilij, Secretum.**Metellus aliquid militiæ interrogatus, si inquit tunicam meam arcani mihi consciam scirem, exutam in ignem abijcerem.**Nam omnes nuntios palam audiri, omnia consilia cunctis presentibus tractari, ratio rerum aut occasionum velocitas patitur?**Primum, præcipuumque eorum quæ ad salicem exitum requiruntur, est filere.**Res periculi plena, in senatu decreta manare in vulgus.**Nemo omnium quò iretur, præter C. Lælium sciebat.**Conso. quem faciebant consiliorum Deum, Ara sub terra: quia planè arcannum debeat esse & secretum consilium.**Antigonus filio quem erat regni heredem habiturus, vocem arcanam non credidit: sed querenti quando castra essent moturi; Quid, inquit, metuis ne solus tu non audias tubam?**Vestra clementia, renovatis ad interiora maioribus, ea disponit quæ non sunt omnibus publicanda: de quibus adiurare etiam soletis, ne quis ante rem completam, quicquam vel audiat, vel intelligat.**Si come delle frutte, altre sono che si mangiano la State, & altre che si serbon per ilverno: così bisogna far delle cose segrete: scerre quelle che si posson dire, da quelle che infino à un certo tempo, s'hanno à tacere.*

The league is concluded betweene the French king and the Venetians. The Articles these: They to assaile Milan on the one side, while the king warres on the other: And to haue Cremona and Gbiaradadda with all their territories, for their share. The rest of the Duchie to remaine to the King, and twentie ells breadth along the riuer of Adda. To defend

send reciprocally and mutually the one the others part, and all the *Terra ferma* of *Venice*, euen to the marishes. This businesse is carried with such secrecie, as the Duke knew not of it for many moneths, nor yet the Pope, who held good correspondencie with the King. They supposed it had beene a confederation defensiu onely, as at first it was solemnly proclaimed in the Court of *France*, and citie of *Venice*.

APHORISME XXVII.

IT is a manly vertue in a Prince, and a Manlian aduice, to prepare for warre when he propounds for peace; and not to stay his prouisions for the one, though he be treating vpon conditions for the other. Because otherwise he seemes to beg or buy his peace, and gets it not but at a high rate. Wherefore peace is neuer to be treated with our armour off, or sword sheathed: nor to be concluded, but vnder a buckler, and vpon sure tearmes.

Ostendite modò bellum, pacem habebitis, videant vos paratos ad vim, ius ipsi remittent.

Media pace incauti circumueniuntur.

Pacem optatis magis quàm defenditis. Pacem sub clypeo parare.

Iamais sage Prince, ny bon Capitain, ne fit la paix desarmé.

Intempestiuo belligerandi studio deditos, nunquam nisi atratos pacem decernere.

— *Dices non esse ad bella fugaces*

Qui pacem potuere pati. —

Silent leges inter arm; nec se expectari iubent, cum ei qui expectare velis, antè iniusta pœna luenda sit, quàm iusta repetenda.

Nec citò perit ruinâ, qui ruinam timet. Semper enim metuendo sapiens vitat malum.

Crocodilus terribilis est in fugaces, fugax contrâ in sequentes: Ita quidam si concedas ac metuas, tum ferociunt; si strenuè contemnas & obstitas, statim concedunt.

The Venetian forces are much weakened in the *Casentine* prouince. One thousand five hundred horse haue left the army at seuerall times; besides many foot. The Duke of *Vrbine*, *Aluiano*, *Astorre Bagliano*, *Marcello* the Venetian treasurer, & *Iulian Medici*, are forced to abandon *Montalone*

Manl. apud
Plutarch.

Tac. an. f. 231.

Salust. hist. 1.

Bod. rep. l. 5.

Demades de
Athen. Plut.

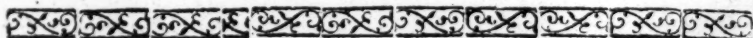
Lucan. l. 2.

Cic. pro Mil.

Pont. de fort.

Plin. l. 8. c. 25.

and *Vernia*, to important places, either for succours to come to them, or for their safe retreat in case of necessitie: they are retired into *Bibiena*, and there much distressed. The State of *Venice* is at this very instant in treaty with *Florence*, for a full and final composition of all differences between them. The award is referred to the Duke of *Ferrara*, both concerning the cause of *Pisa*, as also all other their quarrels and demands. Yet for all this, though the peace be in so good forwardnesse, the Venetians foreflow not to prepare great supplies for their Casentine businesse, which they send vnder the leading of the Count *Petigliano*, to the succours of those distressed troupes: not for any advancement of that seruice, but to haue better conditions in the accord.



APHORISME XXVIII.



T (1) is hard for a man, so warily to walke in any condition of charge or seruice, as that he dash not his foot against the stone of offence: especially in that of command, where he must vse his authoritie sparingly that would keep it long. (2) Wherefore that Generall which bindes not himselfe within the limits of his commission, nor vseth the aduice of his Councell of warre, shall neuer want secret enemies among these he hath neglected, to urge his transgression, and worke his confusion.

Lip. an. l. 3.
Sajust. Cat.
Commin. l. 1.

Tacit. an. 11.
Terent. Adel.

(1) *Tam est difficile in omni vitæ genere, sic te gerere, ut ne impingas. Neque quisquam omnium libidini summi & vsui paruit. Memini regem Ludonicum mecum sic loqui: ut diceret, fieri aliquando ut opera nauata laudabiliter minus pretium sit, idq. culpa eorum qui nauasent: dum elati quadam confidentia, insolenter & proteruè se gererent. Potentia tantis quàm acrioribus consilijs tutius habetur. Sed Demeca, hoc tu facito cum animo cogites; Quàm vos facillimè agitis, quàm estis maximè Potentes, dites, fortunati, nobiles, Tam maximè vos a quo animo aqua noscere Oportet, si vos vultis perhiberi probos.*

(2) *Ciuitas*

(2) *Civitas rimandis offensis sagax.*

Il ny a rien si dangereux en une Armee, que quand un Chef outrecuidant se veut gouverner selon son sens, sans respecter ses compagnons.

Celuy qui se hausse trop, donne occasion à ceux qui s'estiment autant que luy, de se ligher & chercher à quelque pris que se soit, les moyens de le tetter par terre.

Non si può dar Precetto meglio, che di mozzar l'autorità d'un Generale, divenuto troppo potente & orgoglioso.

Paul Vitelli the Florentine Generall, who had borne that office with great reputation, and managed the warres with singular prudence and happy successe : having now the enemy cooped vp in *Bibiena*, growes daily more imperious in his command and dispatches, than was thought fit for his place, or was lawfull by his commission. He grants safe conduct to the Duke of *Vrbine* being sicke, to depart into *Romagna*, without the consent or priuity of the Florentine Commissaries : vnder which protection *Julian Medici* escaped also away. The State is perswaded, that *Vrbine* would rather haue yeelded vp the place, with all his forces, than haue staid in that extremity of sicknesse : great offence is likewise taken, that *Medici*, a rebell to his country, had so escaped their hands. Many of the Citizens fauour the Generall, for his former good seruices, and some because they were his kinsmen. But the greater part, in affection to *Rinuccio*, their old and faithfull seruant and souldier, vrged his transgression. *Rinuccio* himselfe, who had commanded in chiefe, till his defeat at *S. Regolo*, and now not brooking a superior, as at first in enuy of *Vitellies* glory, he slackt to further his seruice in the Casentine businesse, so now in desire of reuenge, he helpeth to worke his destruction. This was the beginning of *Vitellies* fall.

Tacit. hist. 4.

Am. Plat. Ag.

Am. Plat. Gr.

Rag. Stat.

APHORISME XXIX.

Popular (1) States attribute good successe in warre or peace, to their owne proper courage and direction : what falleth out crosse, they lay to the Generalls fault and imputation. Against whom, no mans tongue seemeth prompt enough, or mouth sufficiently wide.

to breathe out contumelious menaces. (2) Wherefore let him that standeth charged with so great an account, take heed that he make a good reckoning, and that his present actions wipe out all scores of former ieaiousies and surmises: for if he be once in suspect, and after trip neuer so little, it is impossible to keepe him from falling.

Prebus.
Sajust. Cat.

Tacit. Agric.

Tac. hi. f. 33.
Seneca Sent.
Mom. Od. H.
Ammi. l. 21.

Tacit. an. l. 5.

Laberius.
Am. Plat. Gr.

Idem Ibid.

Demost.

(1) *Casus tantum aduersos ducibus tribuunt: secundos fortuna sua. Ad reprehendenda aliena dicta & facta ardet omnibus animus, vix satis apertum os, aut lingua prompta videtur.*

Iniquissima hac bellorum conditio est, prospera omnes sibi vendicant, aduersa vni imputantur.

Vulgus fingendi avidum.

Ad tristem partem strenua est suspicio.

Quippe homines plerique summi δόζηλοι, i. suspiciosi.

Hinc inde commensum & nota ars ducum, hostem ducem in suspicionem apud suos adducere.

(2) *Ad summum gradum cum claritas veneris, consistes agere, & cum descendas, decides.*

Cecidi ego: cades qui sequitur.

Ceux qui commencent à perdre leur credit en un estat, sont aisément desfarçonner.

Le Peuple abandonne en necessité ceux qui se sont le plus employé pour eux.

Ἐπὶ τῷ τῆς πολιτικῆς τε καὶ πολιτικῆς ἐπειρῶν ἐκτάλεισι: i. Dissolutio utriusq.

Vitelli hath the enemy straightly begirt in Bibiena. He requires a supplic from Florence of foure thousand men, to carrie the place, driue the enemy quite out of the Casentine, and to make a finall end of that warre. The Citizens vpon former distaste of his proceedings, suspect his counsaile, and reiect his demand. And because there was of late and accidentally some peece of good seruice done, vpon the stragling and disordered enemy, by the countrey Peasants, without the presence of him, or assistance of his souldiers, the meaner lōrt of the city detract from his worth, and depraue all his actions: attributing the continuance of the warre to his want of fidelity, and desire he had to hold himselfe still great in that his command: laying that to his will which was not in his power to alter.

APHO-

APHORISME XXX.



Very (1) man must haue credit in the art he professeth: but no power to perswade to a business which we call into deliberation, and may concerne his aduantage in particular. For the Architect and master of the workes will alwaies aduise vs to build, though we neither haue matter enough prepared, nor purse sufficiently lined for such a purpose: because it is for his proper employment and benefit. (2) So States must be aduised and ouer-ruled by the souldier, in the manage of a warre; but he seldome admitted to the deliberation of vndertaking it.

(1) *Vnicuique in arte sua credendum.*

*Naue[m] agere ignarus nauis timet, ab re tonnum agro.
Non audet nisi qui didicit, dare; quod medicorum est
Promittunt medici: tractant fabrilis fabri.*

Ne Sutor ultra crepidam.

(2) *Fuit ei consuetudo, ut si de iure, aut de negotijs tractaret, solos doctos; & disertos adhiberet: Si vero de re militari, milites veteres & senes bene meritos, & locorum peritos, & bellorum ac castrorum.*

Peritissimos Centurionum dissentientes, & si consulerentur vera dicturos, intimi amicorum Vitellij arcuere: ita formati Principis auribus, ut aspera qua uilia, &c.

Minime enim omnium bellum ex decretis procedit, sed ipsum ex se mutata inuenit, & ut res sunt nata.

Consilium inueniunt multi, sed docti explicant.

Quinetiam in defendenda urbe, ministerio alienissimorum utuntur, sed consilio tamen intimorum.

The Count Petigliano comes with his Venetian troopes to Elci, a castle of the Duchie of Urbine, vpon the Florentine confines: here he meets Charles Orsini, and Peter Medici: for this place was appointed the Rendez-vous, of all their forces, which were to passe the Appennine, to the succours of the besieged in Bickena. He finds the mountaines loaden with snow, and the passages so narrow and dangerous, enen in more seasonable times and favourable weather, as he thought it a dangerous resolution to venture through: and besides, he sees the enemy strong at the foot

Arist.

Horat. ep. 1.

Adag.
Lamp. de Senecro.

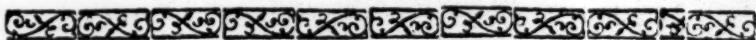
Tacit. hist. 3.
fol. 76.

Thucid. l. 1.

Senec. in fine.

Tac. hist. l. 3.

foot of the hilles, to receiue him vpon great aduantage. He hath direction and peremptory commandement from the Senate at *Venice* to aduance forward, yet in regard of those military considerations, he holds it better to disobey the command, then to expose the whole army to an apparant ouerthrow. He stirres not a foot farther.



APHORISME XXXI.



AN (1) Award betweene States in difference, is like Physicke ministred to a body, wherein is a hot liuer and a cold stomacke : what helpeth the one, commonly hurteth the other: (2) So this seldome contenteth any of the parties, and often displeaseth all. Wherefore as these are carefull, that there be strict cautions and obligations for abiding the Award, so should he be wel aduised before he undertake the charge. For it is better to sit still, then be employed in a businesse where a man is in no hope of getting any thing to himselfe, but in danger of losing both his paines, and his friends.

Gal. San. ruch.
lib. 6.

Suet. Octau.
fol. 91.

Erafex Xen.

Bod. 13.
Adag. 38.
Virg. Egio.

(1) At qui in aequalem temperiem sunt sortiti, ita ut his aliud iecinoris temperamentum sit, aliud ventris, aut alicuius eorum quæ circa itur sunt, quod diuersum est quod assumptum incundum est, ab eo quod cuique particula est idoneum.

(2) Neque veteranorum, neque possessorum gratiam tenuit: alteris pelisse, alteris non pro spe meritorum tractari, querentibus.

Vnde Bumas Atheniensis, quum controuersiam (inter Caydonios & Eleos) utriusque adeius arbitrium deferrent, conuenienter autem ut à manibus temperarent, donec ille de negotio pronunciasset; per fictas occasiones rem in longum distulit, nec unquam de lite voluit pronunciare.

In receptis arbitrijs nemo qui noluit obligatur.

Ne depugnes in alieno negotio.

Non nostrum inter vos tantas componere lites.

The Duke of *Ferrara* is chosen by the States of *Venice* and *Florence*, to compromit betweene them in the cause of *Pisa*. He awardeth thus: The Florentines to pay the Venetians one hundred and eighty thousand Duckats (of the eight hundred thousand they auowed to haue spent in that

that warre) in twelue yeares, by equall portions. The Venetians to call home all their forces from *Pisa* and *Bibiena*. The Pisans to be pardoned of all former offences, and to haue free liberty of trafficke, both by land and by sea. The fortresses of *Pisa*, and other places in that territory, which were in their possession at the day of this Award, so to remaine. To haue free choise of their garrison souldiers, so they were not persons suspect to the Florentines; and to be paid out of the Entrada or reuenue of *Pisa*. All the forts built by the Florentines in the Pisan territory during these warres, to stand or be razed, at the choise of the Pisans. The Pisans to elect their *Podestà* for ciuill causes. The Florentines to appoint the *Capitano* for guard of the Cittadell, and gouerning in causes criminall; but not to iudge in case of life, limme, or confiscation, without such Assessors as the Duke should appoint. All moueable goods to be restored: but the profits of them in this *interim* of the warres, not to be answerable, nor the partie accountable. In all other things, the right and iurisdiction ouer them, to remaine inuiolable: and the Pisans enioyned to practise no new matter, in preiudice of the Florentines. The Award thus made, is of the greater part of the Venetians vterly disliked, because it seemes to abandon the Pisans to their former seruitude. The Florentines repine to repay any part of that money which was so vniustly spent against them, and meerey vpon an ambitious end. And the Pisans they complaine that they are betrayed into the hands of the enemy, and bought and sold betweene them.

APHORISME XXXII.



He friendship of Princes is often personall; of free States neuer: for they, either vpon some friendly interview, or entercourse of kinde letters, or interchange of good turnes, or affinity of bloud, doe condole the losse, congratulate the sucresse, supply the

M m

wants,

wants, releue the distresses, and redresse the wrongs one of another, through some bond of bloud or affection. Whereas free States performe none of those good offices, but for their owne ends: and they that receiue them, are thankefull no longer then while they are in receiuing. For nothing is shorter liued among them then the memorie of benefits. One ounce of supposed vnkindnesse ouer-weigheth a pound of former friendship. And, Not to continue to doe them good, is to begin to doe them wrong.

Por.in Guic.

Calphur.

Eraim.

Petrarch.

Plut.f.341.

Adag. Teut.

Niuna cosa è più breue, niuna ha vita minore, che la memoria de beneficij.

Vilia quacunq̃ue prioribus annis, & sordet quicquid spectauimus olim.

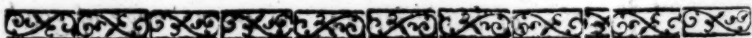
Sic Lyncei: clarissimè cernunt quæ ante oculos, sed obliuio illis rei ab oculis semota.

Firmior offensarum quàm beneficiorum, tenaciorg̃ memoria.

Tempestate oborta sub arborem hanc confugitis, inter digrediendum frondes eius stringitis. (Themistocles Atheniensibus.)

Si humeris quempiam in cælum subuexeris, & tandem minùs molliter deposueris, infensio rem tibi ex hoc quàm conciliatio rem ex alio fore.

The Pisans had reuolted from the Florentine obedience, and runne into manifest rebellion, without the encouragement or consent of Venice. This citie, in their greatest extremity vndertooke their protection: which howsoeuer it were vpon ends of her owne, yet was it an action of acceptable welcome to them, and meriting thankfulness at their hands. The necessity of the times, and her present affaires, force her now at last to quit their defence: yet she leaues them in far better tearmes then she found them, or they without her could possibly haue hoped. This notwithstanding, they complaine of hard dealing, think themselves betrayed, and vpbraid her of iniustice: yea, and in greater despise vpon the fir ouerture of the Award, they discharge her garrisons from the Cittadell, and her guards from the gates, as persons suspected, and hinderers of their libertie, and will not suffer them to stay one night in the citie.



APHORISME XXXIII.



Man of noted credit, may passe with a lie, and
set a currant stampe upon such false coine.
But hee that is notorious for his perfidious
and double dealing, is alwayes obnoxious
to this one ineuitable plague, Neuer
to be beleueed, though he tell the truth.

*Sape falsò plorat quis — vti mox
Nulla fides damnis verisq. doloribus adfit.*

*Non si crede al bugiardo, se dice il vero,
Si crede al verace, benchè bugia.*

*Vbi quis semel pei erarit, ei credi postea, etiam si per plures inret Deos, non
conuenit.*

*Qui ont rompu leur foy, leurs compagnons mesmes à la fin, ne se fient en
eux.*

*Tiberio raccomanda suoi Nipoti al Senato (& questo facena da donero)
ma diceua ancora (sint amente) che voleua render il gouerno della rep. &
che i consoli ò qualunque altro ne pigliasse la cura. Es con questi suoi modi
di fanelhare, facena st, che le cose ch'egli diceua da donero quantunque hone-
ste, non gli erano credute.*

Mendax hoc lucratur, ut cum vera dixerit ei non credatur.

Nec semel irrisus, trinijs attollere curat

Fraçto crure planum: licet illi plurima manet

Lachryma: per sanctum iuratus dicat Ojrim,

Credite: non ludo: crudeles tollite claudum:

Quare peregrinum, vicinia rauca reclamat.

The abandoned Pisans resolute to runne any fortune,
rather then yeeld themselves to the Florentines, whom
they had so highly offended. They of Genoa, Lucca, and Si-
ena, more apt to giue ill counsell, then able to yeeld any
good comfort, encourage them in this obstinacie. Oncely
the Duke of Millan, contrary to his old wont, is become a
father of peace; perswades them to a submission: and vn-
dertakes to mediate a good end for them, with full remissi-
on of all former forfeitures. They will not hereunto be per-
swaded: but offer freely to him the tender of their obedi-
ence, and absolute soueraignty of their citie and State. The

M m 2

Duke

Hor. ep. 368.

Pro. Ital.

Cicero C.
Rab.

Am Plu. Ant.

Am. è. Tacit.
hist. l. 4.

Laert. l. 5

Hor. l. ep. 17.

Duke considers the condition of the times, the greatnesse of his enemies, with the nearnesse of his troubles, and refuseth the offer. The Florentines will by no meanes be perswaded but that he was the man that encouraged them to this contumacie and obstinatenesse, though he protested and swore the contrary.

APHORISME XXXIII.

HE (1) that is a temporizer and deceiver himselfe, hath not whereof to complain, if he be deceived in that kinde: and where is no iust cause of complaint, there is no true prooffe of iniustice. (2) Wherefore, because States are many times overthrowne by fraud and deceit, they hold it lawfull to preserve them by the same meanes from a publike and professed enemy, and one that is a Master in the same facultie.

- (1) — *Et fronte politus*
Astutam vapidō servat sub pectore vulpem.
Ipse longē aliter animo agitabat, tamen pro tempore benignē respondit.
Sic Lyfander versutus & plarique fraude miscens, veritatem aiebat
nihilō meliorem esse mendacio: sed utriusque dignitatem & precium vsu
definiri. (Hec autem perfidum nimis.)
Etiā qui ex illis (Principibus,) Rhetores non sunt, figuratē tamen lo-
quiscunt.
Solere in presentiarum, orationis suavitatē mulcere eos, à quibus suspi-
cantur, in exequendo autem, ea postea agere quæ sibi conducant.
 (2) *Per fraudem & dolum regna evertuntur: Quidni praeservantur?*
Fallere fallentem non est fraus. Cretisare cum Cretensi.
Ἀποπειρῶν αἰεὶς ἐπὶ τῇ ἀλότητι. Cum vulpe iunctum, pariter vulpinari-
er.
Si l'undes ennemis soit departi de sa promesse, & a trompé l'autre, il n'a
que plaindre, s'on luy rend la pareille: Mais pourtant, la perfidie ne se doit
venger, ni repeter, apres qu'on a traite paix & accord ensemble.

The French King offers the State of Florence, to ioyne with her in the recouery of Pisa, so soone as he shall haue conquered Milan, if in this his warre she will aid him with
 fue

Perf. Sat. 5.

Sala. de Jug.
 Plut. in Lac.
 apophth. f. 229.

Mur. de Prin.

Thucyd. l. 6.

Lip. poll. 4.
 Pro. Lat.

Adag. Græc.

Bod. acp. l. 5.

five hundred men at armes for a whole yeere. The Duke of *Milan* offers first to assist her with what forces she shall require, for the reducing of that Towne vnder her obedience, if after the seruice done she will be bound to his defence with three hundred men at armes, and two thousand foot. This State deliberates in Councell, which offer to accept. That of the King, was lesse certaine; this of the Duke, more present: Yet if the King had good success in his warre against *Milan*, the danger was greater from him than the other. It is true, the Duke had stucke closest to them in their greatest ex-remitie, whereby he had incurred the hate of the Venetians, and brought them vpon his owne backe, in this dangerous combination with *France* against him; which in all reason of gratitude should moue their inclination to his demand: but so was it likewise as true, that he had bene the first brewer and broacher of the Pisans rebellion, which worthily cancelled the memory of that other benefit, or any pleasure else whatsoever, which he had or could doe them. They are fearfull to offend the King, and loth to distaste the Duke with a flat deniall. They therefore send him this cautelous and ambiguous answer, by a Secretary of State: That the intention of their Common-wealth is in effect the same with his, though there be some difference in the manner. For they were purposed, so soone as they had ended their owne warre against the Rebels of *Pisa*, to grant him the aid he demanded of them. But they hold it dangerous to make expresse couenant with him, or to capitulate by writing, or to vse his forces, lest they should prouoke the Pope, French King, and Venetians to impeach their proceedings against *Pisa*: and so both they and he be frustrate of their ends. But they bound themselves secretly and by writing, to the French King, in the contrary. The Duke findes this their answer full of cunning, as one well practised in that Art, and therefore assures himselfe of nothing lesse, than the friendship of *Florence*.

magna, and others which she hath held heretofore, or possesseth at this day : And in what manner she is come to these earthly States and governments ; being at first meerely instituted for spiritual administration : & likewise that it be set down as a thing of necessary dependance, what coniunctions and alliances haue beene from time to time vpon these and other occasions, between the Bishops and Emperours of Rome.

THe necessitie of this Digression from the maine current of the historie, arose vpon this occasion. The LL^{ty} of *Romagna*, who held of the Church of *Rome in Capite*, had in effect for many yeares together withdrawne themselves from their obedience vnder her dominion. For some of them refused to pay their yearely tribute, in recognition of their homage and fealty : others paid it, but with much difficulty, and often out of time. But all of them in generall, without the Popes leaue (their liege Lord) would accept of other Princes entertainment, and put themselves and troupes vnder their pay : *Non obstante* that the warre in hand was against the Church. And likewise they had these Princes interchangeably bound to them, to aid and defend them, though it were against the armes of the Church. Now therefore the Pope instanceth the French King to performe what he was tied to by Couenant, sc. *Of assisting the Church to recover her right in Romagna* : which the King willingly granteth : and sendeth *Iuo d' Alegri* with three hundred lances, and foure thousand Swisse vnder the Bailliffe of *Dijon*, to the Duke *Valentino* the Popes son, for this seruice. The interest which the Church had to this State, and by what meanes it was lost, our Author thinks it expedient to set downe here at large : and therefore one chiefe branch of this Digression, is nothing else but *An authenticall Euidence of the Churches right to Romagna* : a faire Charter how she holds it by a strong Deed of gift, with proofes of the validitie of the Conueyance and equity of the Tenure. And this branch I suppose she would haue suffered to grow still and flourish. But then there is another, which shewes by good record, how her gouernment was at first meerely spirituall : which restriction she likes not, and hath stretched

stretched so much, as she hath broken that *True loves knot*, which was betweene Temporall and Ecclesiasticall Iurisdiction. Besides, a third Branch there is, which laies open her ambitious purchase of greatnesse, and the meanes how she got it, which she would haue al men acknowledge for iust, and none to looke into the vnlawfulnesse of the vsurpation. And these be the two branches, for whose sake, she hath iniuriously lopt off all the three.

GUICCIAR. *The Bishops of Rome, of whom the Apostle Peter was the first, their power being layd by Iesus Christ in spirituall things, great in charity, humility, patience, lowlinesse of spirit, and miracles; were not onely without al temporal power, but were persecuted by it: manifesting their name in nothing more than in the persecutions, which they and their followers endured. And thus they remained for many yeares obscure, and as it were vnkowne. For, although (through the multitude of people that were then in Rome, and the diuersity of the Nations, and their Religions) the proceedings of the Christians were little regarded, and some of the Emperors persecuted them not at all, except when it appeared their publike actions or exercises could not be passed in silence; yet some of them either through the crueltie of their nature, or their deuotion to their owne heathenish gods, persecuted them with all extremity, as bringers in of new Superstition, and ouerthrowers of (their) true Religion.*

THe Bishops of Rome in the primitiue time of the Church, were so, rather by appellation from their meere spirituall function, than by Iurisdiction from their consistoriall authoritie. For what Sea, what Chapter, what Diocesse, what Gouernment had they? who liued alwaies in obscuritie, and exercised their religion and seruice of the true God, onely by stealth, and in corners: or else being discovered, suffered vnder the heauie hand of persecution. Graue, Learned, Religious, Pious men they were; the office of *S. Peter* and *S. Paul* they executed, to instruct, and reprove: by the imposition of hands, and those other solemne and sacred rites vsed by the Apostles, they conferred

ferred the holy order of Priesthood on others : that with them they might co-operate in that new planted Vineyard, to the building vp of those few penitent Christians, (whereof the greater part were poore, and obscure,) that came to them for comfort in matter of conscience, or for direction in case of doubt. These they loosed from their sins, and confirmed in the truth: Others they reprobued and conuincd of their errors, and bound them from the participation of spirituall blessings, by vertue of that power which Christ had left them in his Church. Whereby, although they had an authority spirituall, and power of excommunication, yet a farther power of goods, limbe, or life, a power of deposing Kings, and disposing kingdomes they had not : nor had *S. Peter* himselfe, from whom they strue to deriue their succession both in place and power. Of whose being at *Rome*, we greatly dispute not, for it inferreth nothing of consequence, to that they would insinuate. We know it was not *Peters* being at *Rome* that gaue her the Supremacie ouer all other Churches, but *Romes* greatnesse, that gaue the occasion of that greatnesse, which is now attributed to *Peter*. For though it be true, that he had *Superioritatem ordinis*, before the rest of the Apostles, yet was hee not *Superior potestate*, which the Popes haue since challenged. And if (three hundred years after almost) when *Constantine* embraced, professed, & maintained Christian Religion, the Imperiall Maiestie had then resided in *France*, as it did fife hundred yeares after, and there continued some fourescore yeares ; or in *Germany*, where it hath beene euer since : we had had a Pope of *Paris*, or of *Prague*, in stead of this that we haue now at *Rome*. But a fall thing it hath beene to this citie to vsurpe ouer the world : First, by holding in a temporall subiection all the countries of her neighbour Princes : Since, by bringing into thraldome the hearts and consciences of Christians : First, by intruding vpon the inheritance of men ; then, by inroaching vpon the heritage of Christs owne purchase. But say wee grant that *Peter* were Head of the Church, yet can it neuer be proued, that such a *Clemens*, such a *Pius*, or *Innocentius*, whose abominable actions shew

shew they had their names *ver' antecessor*, are the true successors of *Peter*. Except they can tie Truth and Piety to a place, which is more than all their censuring, hallowing, and exorcizing can doe. *Rome* her selfe is an instance, which from the integritie of those former times is become as *Petrarch* describes her.

*Fontana di dolore, Albergo d' ira,
Scuola d'Errori, Tempio d' Heresia,
Già Roma, hor Babylonia, empia e ria.
Per cui tanto si piagne, e si sospira.*

A Source of sorrow, Harbrough of ire,
A Schoole of errors, Temple of heresies,
Earst *Rome*, now *Babylon*, full of villanies,
Forcing our teares of brine, and sighs of fire.

Succession therefore of place is a sandy ground, to build the marble materials of Truth vpon. For we see in this very section, that where Religion hath publike authoritie to maintaine it, the whole State to professe it, and a long tract and continuance of time, to giue it countenance (be it neuer so false) yet power, vnity, vniuersality, and successe, giues it the title of Truth. Such was here the seruice of false gods in the *Romane Empire*: And how it may now again be applied to *Rome*, let other men iudge. But where a Religion is poore, obscure, discountenanced, oppressed, without any to protect her, or many to professe her, (be it neuer so ancient and true) it is wronged with the aspersions of Nouelty and Heresie. Such was here the seruice of the True God in the Church of *Rome*: And whether it be not now the Protestants case, against the false imputation which the Papist throwes vpon him, let the venerable Records of these Primitiue times be witnesse.

GUICCIAR. In which estate, famous for their voluntarie Pouertie, Integrity of life, and Martyrdome, these Bishops continued till the time of Syluester: In whose daies Constantine the Emperour being brought to embrace the Christian Religion, through the holy conuersation which was daily obserued in those that professed the name of Christ: The Bishops now were freed from the danger wherein they had liued 300. yeares, and had libertie to exercise publikely the diuine Seruice, and rites
of

of Christians. Whereupon Christianity began to spread it selfe maruelously, and the pouertie of the Clergie to diminish, through the reuerence which was borne to the good behauiour of the Professors, the holy lessons which our Religion containes in it, and the readinesse that is in men to follow either through ambition (ostentimes) or through feare, the example of the Prince. For the Emperour Constantine hauing built in Rome the Church of S. Iohn in the Lateran, S. Peter in the Vatican, that of S. Paul, and many others in other places : He not onely adorned them with rich vessels and ornaments, but enfeofed them also with possessions, and endowed them with other reuenues for the maintenance of those Churches in their apparaments and buildings, and of the Clergie that serued in that holy Ministry. So likewise others in times succeeding, being perswaded by Almes and Legacies to the Church to make an easie purchase of the kingdome of heauen, did either build and endow other Churches, or gaue part of their wealth to those already built. Yea by the law and ancient custome (following the example of the old Testament) euery man paid the Church the tenth of his fruits : Men being stirred hereunto with great zeale, because at the first they obserued the Clergie themselues, to giue all they had to the building and adorning of Churches, or to other godly and charitable vses : Saue onely what was needfull for a meane sustentation of their life.

THe two glorious Lampes, Purity of Doctrine in the Christian Religion, and Integrity of life in the professors thereof, do now blaze and shine forth through the two thicke milts, of profane gentilisme, and corruption of manners. For, neuer was that Iustice, Vertue, and Worth of the old Romans so much adulterate and bastardized as now: Neuer such cruelty, lust, riot, and oppression in their Princes, neuer such base flatterie, false informations, and ignoble supplantations in their Senators, neuer so much vice in generall, raging both in the Citie and State. These two therefore were the true causes of the Gospels entertainment, promulgation, and propagation. But all things haue their declination and decay, by the contraries to their life and growth. For as we obserue in naturall bodies, that natue
heat

heat and radicall humour are the causes of their increase and continuance ; but the contraries to these doe cause them to decay and die : So in the bodie Ecclesiastick, it is no maruell, if that primitiue heat of zeale to piety and truth be grown cold in the Church of Rome, and that moisture of grace to vertue and honestie bee quite dried vp, though she fall to an utter ruine and decay. As for her corruption of manners, her owne children out of their iust griefe haue expressely tainted her with all the staines of vicious life in the particular, and al the straines of ambitious vturpation in the generall. I wil exemplifie both with two instances out of this our Author.

GVICCIAR. Pope Alexander himselfe could not auoid his domesticall misfortunes, which too too much afflicted his house, with tragicke examples, lust, and horrible crueltie, euen in all barbarous manner. For hauing from his first entrance, to the Papacie, resolved to lay all Temporall greatnesse vpon his eldest sonne the Duke of Candie, the Cardinall of Valence his younger sonne hauing no disposition to Priestly function, aspired to the profession of Armes, disdaining that his brathers should be preferred to that honour before him : being also much incensed because his brother shared with him in the loue of the Ladie Lucrece, courted by them both, and sister to them both. Wherefore pricked on with lust and ambition, (two powerfull ministers, of all villany) he caused him secretly one night to be murdered, and to be throwne into Tyber. The same went also, (if such an enormity be to be beleued) that not onely the brothers, but the father also himselfe concurred in the competition of the Ladies loue ; who so soone as he was Pope, taking her from her first husband, as being now too base for a Lady of her degree, he married her to Iohn Zforza Lord of Pesaro. And after, not enduring to haue her owne husband his Corriuall, he dissolved the marriage which before was consummate, suborning some to testifie before Iudges chosen for the purpose, (and them to giue sentence) that Zforza was frigida naturæ, and vnapt for generation.

THUS farre Guicciardine of this vertuous sonne a Cardinall ; and this holy Father a Pope : of whose death hee
Y y
like-

A bricfe Inference

likewise truly reporteth in this History, that he was poysoned by mistaking a cup which himselfe and his sonne had provided for the dispatch of some other Cardinals, that stood in the way of their deuillish designs. This historie is extant in many Editions, to the shame of his memory, and staine of that Sea for euer. But the Oration of *Pompey Colonna* and *Anthonie Sauello*, two noble Gentlemen of Rome, which they made to the Citizens in the Capitoll, vpon the supposed death of *Iulius 2.* is banished this historie by the Inquisition, whose proscriptions are like the Athenian Ostracisme, that thrust out none but the best and most worthy. Which wee may iustly call home againe, and fitly plant in this place, to batter the rotten bulwarke of the Popes pride and vsurped authoritie. It is thus:

GVICCIAR. *The Nobilitie hath beene long enough trod downe (O ye Romans,) enough haue those generous spirits (whilome the conquerours of the world) liued in seruitude. The times past perhaps may in some sort bee excused, by the awfull reuerence men bore to Religion: In respect wherof, being accompanied with holinesse of life and miracles, our ancestors yeilded to the command of the Clergie, and willingly submitted themselves vnder the sweet yoke of Christian pietie, without force of armes, or violence whatsoeuer. But now what necessitie, what worthinesse of theirs can possibly couer the shame of our slavery; What? The integrity of life? the good example of those Priests, or the miracles they worke? What generation is there I pray you in the world, more corrupted, more polluted, with more brutish and beastly manners? In whom it seemeth miraculou, that God the fountaine of Iustice, suffereth their villanies so long. Is this tyranny of theirs maintained by the sword? by the industry of men? or by their dayly prouidence for the preservation of the Papall dignity? What generation of men is there lesse experienced in militarie knowledge and praetice? more giuen to sloth and pleasures? or more carelesse of the honour and good of their successors? There are onely two States in the world, that may fitly bee paralleled one with the other: This of the Popes of Rome, and that of the Sultans of Cairo. Because neither the*
dignitie

dignitie of the Sultan, nor the honours of the Mamaluches are hereditarie, but passing from nation to nation, they are conferred upon strangers. And yet this seruitude of the Romanes is much more shamefull than that of Egypt or of Syria: For it couereth in some sort the stain of their disgrace, that the Mamaluches are a valourous and fierce people, accustomed to labours, and to a life free from all delicacie. But whom doe we Romans serue? Drowisie and slothfull persons, strangers, and oftentimes most base, no lesse in bloud than in condition. Time it is now at length to awake from so heauy a sleepines, & to remember, That to be a Roman is a most glorious name, when it is accompanied with vertue: but that it doubleth the shame and infamie to him that forgetteth the honourable fame of his Ancestors. The way is now made easie vnto vs: because that vpon the death of the Pope they are at discord among themselves, the mindes of the great ones are distracted, and the priestly tyranny is now more than euer heretofore hateful to all Princes.

THis detestation of theirs, and protestation against the Popes temporall Lordship ouer Rome, may Christian Princes iustly take vp against his spirituall tyranny ouer them, and the Churches in their dominions, and say in the same tenor of words (*Regall authoritie hath been long enough trod down, O ye Christians, long enough haue those generous spirits, &c.*) Which Oration, whether it were theirs, or made by our Author in their persons (as Historians vsually doe) it is not materiall: it plainly sheweth and truly, how the Romans themselves stand affected and conceited to that Court, who are daily eye-witnesses of the pride and filthinesse thereof; which the Bigors of this age, and in places far remote, either will not haue the patience to heare, or the grace to beleue. They will not be perswaded but that the whole body of that Church is sound, when her wise neighbours see how sick shee is in the Head. So much are they hood-winkt and blind-folded by the Iesuites those minerall Doctors, who haue digged verie deepe for plaisters to couer, not for salues to cure the vlcer; and haue brought a mischief, not a remedy into the Church. For no sooner had men appeared, whole skill was good to cure

this foule leprosie, but straight starts vp this colledge of Quackesaluers to hinder the worke: A *Loiola* for a *Lumber*, a *Rowland* for an *Oliuer*. And as the Turkish *Basbas* assured the army that the *Ottoman* Emperour was liuing, and in reasonable good state of health, when hee lay dead in his litter: so these Romish Ianisaries perswade the poore people of our Christian campe, that all is well at *Rome*, and that the Popes Holinesse is iust in his gouernment, vpriight in his Religion, and sound in his practice and conuersation of life; when he lies tweltring oftentimes in the toile of his rotten rule, and litter of lewd life: Venting for truth, and to be receiued vpon paine of damnation, the sale-able but not auailable trash of his own weauing. No maruell therefore though their owne *Petrarch* call for this direful vengeance vpon his Court:

*Fiamma dal ciel su le tue treccie piona
Maluaggia: che dal finme e dalle gblande,
Per altru' impouerir sei ricca e grande,
Poi ché di mal oprar tanto ti giona.
Nido di tradimenti in cui si cona
Quanto mal per'l mondo hoggi si spande;
Di vin serua, di letti, & de viuande,
In cui lussuria fa l'ultima prona.*

Let fire from heauen on thy proud tresses fall,
Thou wicked queane: who first on acornes fed,
Art now growne rich and fat by others bread,
Since to doe well thou hast no ioy at all.
Thou nest of treasons, wherein hatched lies
All mischiefs broached through our Hemisphære:
In thee wine, slouth, and viands domineere,
And lustfull riot playes her vtmost prise.

As for those other Doctors of that Church, whom we haue here among vs (the Secular Priests) though they retaine still the old Lees of that corrupted Caske of the Romish Church, yet they appeare to bee guiltles, nay rather haters of those furious nouelties brought in by the Iesuites (at least if their internall meaning agree with their external profession.) But if they dissemble with vs, impaling their consciences, and oaths of obedience to our King, within this parenthesis (*Rebus sic stantibus*) and referuing an impli-

cite

cite beleefe in the *Councellof Trent*, concerning the absolute necessitie of subiection to the Pope; such temporizing must needs be far from the ingenuitie & sinceritie of Christian Religion, and wherein they much abuse their disciples here among vs. For we are in good hope, that since they professe so much to retaine the old Leauen of ancient Religion, they wil not suffer themselues to be infected with the new equiuocations of the Iesuiticall Sect: but as they maintaine so obstinately the ancient errors of the Romish Church, so they will be loth to renounce the ancient honestie that the world (euen in the time of greatest blindnes) did so carefully preferue, namely, honesty morall to their neighbor, & due & faithfull obedience to their Prince. So, though they bee a little too homely with the first Table in the point of worship; they will I hope (at least I wish) proue carefull and honest obseruers of the second: which, how little or much it may auaille them to their saluation, as I wil not take vpon me to determine, yet I am sure it cannot faile to make them proue morally honest men before the world. As for their Religion (the other cause considerable in this Section) it is now so farded & daubed with the counterfait parget of mens traditions, like the painted women of this age, that we may say of it, as an old Doctor of the Church said of them in his dayes, *Vereor ne Deus creaturam non agnoscat suam*. For Christian religion was at first like the garment of Christ without scame or rent, and the Church that professed it without Schisme or Faction: But now this Arke of *Noah*, like the Ship of *Argos*, is so peeced and patched by them, with the rotten rags and soiled shreds of sinfull mans inuention, as there is scarce any sound timber of the old Truth remaining. First shee was poore, then much added, after much altered, from better to worse, and now at the worst; like *Daniels* image, whose head was of gold, brest and armes of siluer, belly and thighs of brasse, legs of iron, feet part of iron and part of clay. She was at first the sacred bond that tied Princes to their people, in all lawfull administration of Iustice; and the people to their Princes, in all awfull performance of Allegeance: But now, the one often makes her the cloake

without money, ſo we haue nothing for our money, but the ballers of Indulgences and Pardons, babies of *Saints-pictures*, Rattles of Beads and Medals, with other ſuch hobby-horſes, and traſh, fit onely for ſuch as wipe their noſes on their ſleeues; which the chapmen themſelues ſtop muſtard-pots withall, howſoeuer the ſimple, religious, pious, honeſt Buyer, holds them as they coſt him, (deare.) And thus hauing likewiſe brought the Popes Holineſſe to this yeare of Iubiley, (a true Iubiley to him, who neuer till now could bee peaceably poſſeſſed of *Rome*) our Author leaues him, and ſhuts vp this graue, learned, and neceſſarie Digreſſion, with a worthy, juſt, and Chriſtian complaint, in this conſeſion following.

GVICCIAR. By theſe foundations, and by theſe means, being raiſed to an earthly power, caſting off by little and little, the remembrance of the ſoules health, and the Lawes of God, and bending all her thoughts to worldly greatneſſe: No longer uſing the Spirituall power, but as an inſtrument and miniſter of the Temporall: Their cares and endeouours were now no longer a ſanctitie of life, no longer a propagation of Religion, no longer a zeale and charitie towards their neighbour; but armies, but warre againſt Chriſtians, managing their ſacrifices with bloudie hands and thoughts, and augmenting of treaſure: New lawes, new trickes, new ſleights, to get money on euerie ſide: To uſe the ſpirituall armes without reſpect for this onely end: To prophane ſacred things without ſhame, for this onely purpoſe. The great wealth lauiſhly beſtowed vpon them and their whole Court, was accompanied with pride, luxurie, diſhoneſtie, luſt, and abhominable pleaſures. No care of their ſucceſſours, no thought of the perpetuall dignitie of the Papacie. But inſtead thereof, an ambitious and peſtiferous deſire to exalt their children, nephewes and kindred, not onely to exceſſiue riches, but to Principallities and Kingdomes. No longer conſeſſing dignities and preferments vpon men of deſert and vertue, but ſelling them alwayes as it were to the moſt giuer, or caſting them away vpon perſons apt for Ambition, for luſt, and for ſhamefull pleaſures. By which acts of theirs, the Papall reuerence being vtterly decayed in the hearts of men,
and

and yet notwithstanding their power being still supported by the effectuall and powerfull maiestie of Religion, and ayded much by the means they haue to gratifie great Princes, & those great personages which are about them, by preferments and other Ecclesiasticall grants; whereby knowing themselues to be in great respect among men, and that who so takes armes against them purchaseth much infamie, and oftentimes the opposition of other Princes, with small gaine whatsoeuer be the euent: and that if they conquer, they vse the victory as they list; and if they bee conquered, they haue what conditions they will: Ambition pricking them forward, to take from their neighbours both priuate estates and Principalities, they haue beene very often and of long time, the instruments to stirre up warre and new combustions in Italy. But to returne to my former purpose, from whence my iust sorrow, and the publicke losse haue transported mee, more farre than becomes the rules of Historie, &c.

THus farre Guicciardine: and where he leaues, take wee vp our complaint: and if Protestant Princes haue vfed that power which they haue immediately from God, to reforme these abuses, to redresse our wrongs, and to vindicate their right out of the hands of this Vsurper, who can iustly challenge them? For seeing the Church of Rome hath incroached and intruded yeare by yeare, by little and little vpon this Free-hold and Prerogatiue of Princes, as the yeare it selfe doth winne certaine minutes and seconds which in long tract of time breed a great alteration; they were forced to reforme the Churches in their owne seuerall States, as neare the truth and custome of the Primitiue Church as they could, euen as Rome hath reduced the yeare ten dayes nearer to the *Iulian* account: yet neither are these Reformations without some small blemish, nor those Reductions without some small error, that both Rome and they might in all humility confesse, *All that is of man, to be vnperfect like himselfe. Let God be true, and euery man a liar.*

Ccc

Our

OvR defection is therefore not from what she was, but from that she is; from the Authority she at last usurped, not from the Religion she at first receiued: That, she cannot in iustice establish but in her owne proper dominions, where the Sword of *France* hath made her absolute Princessse: This, God of his goodnesse hath left free to the world, to be maintained by the Scepter of Christian Princes, whose right of inheritance hath made them as absolute as her selfe. So that our Contestation with her, and Protestation against her Papall tyranny, is in the end like that in former times of the Barons of this Land (though not in the nature, because theirs was against their naturall liege Lord and Soueraigne) who contested for their Franchisements and Liberties which were granted them by the *Magna Charta*, & deriued from those good old lawes of *Saint Edward the Confessor*. For this high Priest would take from vs that immunity and freedome we had at first, of owing our obedience to none but God and our King, and would bring vs vnder the yoke of his forraine Iurisdiction, which in the good old world of the Primitiue Church was not so, and whereof we are freed by our *Great Charter of the Gospell*; *Giuen vs by the Father, Penned by the holy Spirit, Sealed by his deare Sonne, and witnessed by the death of many thousands of Martyrs.*

WHy then should the Papist inferre (I call him not Catholick, for to be a good Catholicke is to be a good Christian, but to be a Papist is to bee a Romish Statist, a disciple of the Iesuite, not of Iesus:) why should he vrge (I say) that we renounce our Religion to God, by quitting our obedience to the Pope, when we see no such correlation betweene them? Nay we plainly discouer a manifest *Antithesis* and opposition of the Precept of the one, to the Practice of the other. Surely, let them say what they can; to be a Catholicke and to bee a Protestant, are not two seuerall Religions in the root: both are Christians, both build their faith and profession vpon Christ. He is the Rocke whereupon they stand: he is the Truth, wherein they agree; other truth than in him there is none.

But

But many falshoods there are, as those of the Turke and Persian, who differ much in disputable points, yet are professors of one and the same prophane *Mahometan Religion*. The Turke holds himselfe the onely *Mussulman*, i. true beleuer; and the Persian to bee an heretick, and in a damnable way: So thinkes the Papist of the Protestant, but, *id populus curat scilicet*. As for vs, we are not so vncharitable to condemne all them of the Catholick Religion, because they differ in disputable points from vs; nor so ignorant in our owne, as not to be alwayes able and readie to iustifie it for the same which was planted by Christ, taught in his word, confirmed with miracles, and professed in the Primitiue Church. Now whatsoeuer concerneth Religion, belongeth either to God or to *Cesar*: The matter and foundation (which is the truth) to God, who hath the Ministers of his word to deliuer it; the manner and forme of exercising it (which is the gouernment) to the King, who hath those Ministers of the word, the Ministers of his power, to put it in execution. Of this neither ought the Papist to rob him, nor the Anabaptist to denie him. *Giue vnto Cesar what belongeth to Cesar, and giue vnto God what belongeth to God*. God spake these words and said, *I am the Lord thy God, &c.* Here is the matter of Religion, *By God. All that the Lord commandeth by his seruant Moses, that will we doe*: here is the obedience both of Priest and people, in the forme and manner: By the hand of *Moses* and Christian Princes, not by the mouth; not to teach them the truth, but to rule and gouerne them vnder the truth, and according to the vnchangeable and eternall lawes and ordinances thereof.

WE haue not therefore quit our first Colours of Christianitie, we fight still vnder *the Standard of the red Crosse*, like true Christians, which will euer dare to display it selfe for the maintenance of our Religion, and honor of our State: and I assure my selfe there are many thousands amongst vs (whom they presume to bee sure their owne) who when they shall see those Colours flying in open field, will with vs flie in the face of the common enemy, though he bring *the Banner of the Crosse* keyes be-

fore him. For howsoeuer they be nuzled and mis-led by their corner catechizings in matter of beleefe and conscience, yet if they be not wilfully blind, they may perceiue with vs, that the Pope seekes not to rectifie the Church in our State for the truths sake, but to regaine his vsurped authoritie in our Church for his profits sake: would wee but giue him this, hee would giue vs leaue to beleue what we list.

WE march still therefore with all good Catholickes vnder him that is and was their Leader and ours from the beginning. We may differ from them in appareling, arraying, and embattelling our men: but our weapons are Faith and Workes of Piety, as theirs, and our end is all one: *We fight for life.* Here is the chiefe and maine point we stand on, We will haue a Prince of our owne, to goe in and out before vs: Wee will haue a Lieutenant of our owne, vnder Christ our Generall, in this our Christian warfare, to gouerne our campe, and keepe vs vnder military Discipline: we like not the Venetian manner, to haue a forraine hireling chiefe commander of our troupes: Wee feare no vsurpation as they doe. *God and his Right* hath made our King what he is (next himselfe vpon earth) in these his dominions: hee will be no more, he ought be no lesse. And therefore him doe we follow, vnder him wil wee serue, and with him will we fight, as in all his battels of Honour and State, so much more in an action of such consequence as this, *Of life or death euerlasting.* If the Pope and his Cardinals haue clipped the wings of the holy Ghost, (who they say is President in all their Conclaues) that hee cannot flye ouer the Alpes to fetch a fit man for that holy Sea, (for now of late they haue resolued, *That no Tramontano shall be Papeable,*) why may not wee likewise establish by law, that no cause of ours shall by a *Tramontano* be determinable? why should not wee clip his wings of Ambition that would still flutter ouer vs, and pare his nailes of Auarice that would still be scratching from vs; so high mountaines, a large Continent, and a maine Sea being betweene vs?

Seeing

Seeing therefore the Sunne of Righteousnesse shineth vpon this land with the bright beames of his Gospell, which neither abrogateth wholesome and ciuill lawes, nor abridgeth the power of Princes ordained by them: seeing he hath drawne the Romish foggie mists of superstition and error from our eyes, and hath rained his sweet dewes of blessings vpon vs, in a religious King, a hope-full Prince, a peacefull Gouernment, a prudent Councell, and a powerfull State, able with his Sword to maintaine his right against what enemye soeuer to his power or peace: and seeing that nothing is wanting to make vs the happiest people on earth, but an vnanimous and vniforme concurrence in the Seruice of our God, and obedience of our Soueraigne: let vs all like true Israelites follow this our *Moses* out of that Egyptian bondage; let vs ioyne with the hearts of obedience and hands of assistance, in so iust a quarrell, for so good a Prince, against so Imperious an Vsurper. Let none of vs be any longer abused and ensnared, yea and gulled by these professors of *Lysanders* doctrine, who taught that children must be deceiued with Chance-bones, and men with Oathes: So these, with the old stampe of the Deuills oracles at *Delphos*, of æquiuocall amphibologies, and mentall reseruations, cosen and delude the World.

But *Rome* hath preferued a forme of a Church, and kept the bookes of Gods law, and Records of our Religion, from the fury of Barbarians, and ruines of time, else how had we knowne either the Law or the Gospell? They say very well, wee acknowledge it so, and wee thanke God for it, that made her the meanes: But what then? Did not the old Iewes preferue the old Testament for the Christians? Else how had these known, but by those venerable and sacred Records of Antiquitie, all the Prophecies which are there registred from the beginning of the world, of their true Messias, which haue since beene fulfilled in his comming? Were Christians therefore so bound to the Iewes, or *Rome* to *Ierusalem*, as not to forsake them when they had forsaken their fore-promised Redeemer? and not

to seeke a new citie of Peace in Christs holy Gospell ? Nay rather *Rome* had a fearefull example by them, that such old treasurers of the Truth may become Banke-rupt of all Faith and Pietie : that shee may preach to others, and be her selfe a cast-away. Had they any such warrant, not to erre, not to fall ? Ought not shee with more care to haue preserued Religion in all Purity, and professed it in all Humility ? *Be not high minded, but feare : For if God spared not the naturall Branches, take heed lest he also spare not thee. Behold therefore the bountifulnesse and seuerity of God : Towards them that are fallen, seuerity : but towards thee, bountifulnesse, if thou continue in his bountifulnesse : otherwise thou shalt also be cut off.* A memorable caueat and feareful threat, from that Diuine, and Diuining Spirit of the blessed Apostle, euen to this very *Rome* with which we haue now our contestation. For such is our case with her, as was hers with the Iewes : we haue forsaken her, because shee hath forsaken her first Faith. The faithfull city is become an harlot. Let her therefore no more vpbraide vs with her three Conuersions of this our Land, we can more iustly challenge her of thirty subuersions she hath attempted vpon it. For, to attacke vpon the life and person of a Prince, to giue soment to treasons, and encouragement to Traitors, yea and reward also ; what is this but to seeke the subuersion of the whole State ? As for the last Fire-worke, all the powers of hell were combined in the conspiracie, and but hell it selfe can afford it a fit name, as but Heauen alone could preuent the danger. A Frier first inuenter of such hellish and sulphurious powder, and a Priest the latest practiser to put it to the vtmost prooffe : What worke call ye this, ye workers of iniquity, that sets a stigmaticall brand, and an indelible staine vpon your order for euer ?

BUt they say, *He that is not in the Bosome of the Church, is in the bowels of perdition : He that is not saued in the Arke, perisheth in the Waters : He hath not God for his Father, that hath not the Church for his Mother : Without the Church there is no saluation.* So say we : & that there is no damnation, disinheriting, drowning, or destruction, to them that are in this

this bosome of safety, ship of assurance, family of the faithfull, and society of the elect. But these propositions, howsoeuer they be spoken of the visible Church by the ancient Fathers, yet most sure it is, that they meant not to tie them to the Church of *Rome*. For *S. Cyprian* vsed one of those *Maximes* professedly against *Stephen* the then *Pope* of *Rome*. And the Councell of *Basil* proued the *Pope* (who would needs bee about the Councells) to bee a Schismaticke, and rent from the Church, because he ought to be subiect to the Church, *Quinto matre inferior est filius*. Could they but perswade vs, that these *Maximes* of the ancient Fathers were meant of the Church of *Rome* onely, and necessarily tied thereunto; we would come flocking thither in such full troupes, as they neuer had the like Iubiley there; and would all be humble suitors to his Holinesse, that the *Porta-Santa* might not be shut vp, so long as fise and twenty yeares together, we would haue a continuall and perpetuall Iubiley in *Rome*: wherein we would make no doubt to preuaile, hauing so good pleaders in our behalfe, as that whole Court and City, who would be glad to pay well for the purchase, and yet be sure to get well by the bargain. But this they shall neuer be able to perswade, that all that are vnder the Popes protection and *Benedicite* are safe, as vnder the seuen-fold shield of *Ajax*, from all those perils which befall him who is fallen from the Church: nor they that are vnder his malediction and curse, are liable to all those spirituall dangers, from which a Childe of the true Church is free. Wherefore, while the Church of *Rome* appropriates to her selfe whatsoeuer is said of the Church Catholicke, either in the Scriptures, or Fathers, she doth but imitate the franticke Greeke, who when he saw any ships arrive in the Port of *Athens*, supposed them all his owne, and (without any warrant from the Custome-house) would offer to make seizure of all the wares. So she without any warrant of the *Dogana-Santa* of Gods word, or custome of the Primitive Church, will seize vpon this rich and heavenly commoditie, and others must haue it but at second hand: She will haue the fee-simple of the Inheritance, and other Churches must hold

hold of her by Copie, and in Base seruice. Now what is this but to tye Christs Church to a particular place and people? And what is that but meere Donatisme, which admitted no Church in those times but that of *Affrica*? Is it not Catholicke and vniuersall both in place, and profession? Hath not Christ his Church in *Constantinople*, *Cairo*, *Rome*, and *Geneua*? in *Europe*, *Affrick*, *Asha*, *America*, and places yet vnknowne? Or hath God made all the world, but this little Angle of *Europe*, (and by their reckoning) not a moiety of that neither, for nought but perdition? *Nimis altum sapiunt*. This is to presse into the *Sanctum Sanctorum* of Gods secret counsailes, where none but the high Priest of our soules may enter: This is to dare looke God in the face, which *Moses* himselfe nor could nor durst aduenture. Let them looke lower where they are, lest they fall lower than they are. It is onely knowne to him who are his. His mercie is ouer all his workes, by this be will he glorified as well as by his iudgements, euen in places farre remote, where the sound of the Gospell hath not yet beene heard. Let them not therefore shut Charitie out of Heauen, though in this iron-age of the world she be almost quite banished the earth alreadie. Let the poore Fugitiue haue that place of refuge.

WHerefore let not *Rome* lay claime to the whole inheritance, who had iust title but to an elder daughters part, which she may also forfeit by breaking covenants. For I am perswaded that what the ancient Fathers gaue peculiarly to her, when she shined more gloriously than her younger sisters in the beauty of pure Religion, and white Robes of godly conuersation, if they were now liuing, they would againe take from her, vpon this plaine discouery of her defection and deformity. It is reported, that *Angelo* the famous Artizan of *Italy*, drawing the pictures of *S. Peter* and *S. Paul*, for a Cardinall, a good friend and benefactor of his, pourtrayed them with very red and high coloured faces; whereas neither the Scripture, nor any Ecclesiasticall history, nor any originall Tablet describeth them by such complexions: being asked the reason,

son, Because quoth he) if they were now liuing, they could not but blush at the pomp of you Cardinals, the pride of this Court, and the abuses of this Church in generall.

AS therefore they cannot proue vs out of the Church, no more can they shew vs fallen from her vnity. From theirs we professe a diuision, and are now as heretofore ready to iustifie our parting. But Schisme or diuision in our owne Church we haue none: we liue vnder the obedience thereof in all awfulnessse, with a more willing and lesse forced subiection than they: For what she commandeth we readily obey, and were it but a matter indifferent before the commandement, we now hold it a matter of conscience: because we acknowledge she hath this power ouer her owne children, by Gods holy ordinance, which bindes vs in this strong Tie of obedience, by the vertue of his word. We likewise reuerence the Order of Priesthood, that hath the Ordination from her, and acknowledge the power and vertue thereof: we confesse to haue our Initiation into Christianity, and to be made the members of Christ by Baptisme from the Priest: from him to haue our incorporation into Christ assured vnto vs by the blessed Sacrament of the Eucharist, or of the Altar, cal it whether you will, (for the one is but an Appellation from the Action, the other from the Place where it is sanctified.) From him we haue our Reconciliation to our Mother the Church, after our fall, by confessing our sinnes vnto him, and being absolved by him: knowing that if our confession be true, our contrition hearty, and repentance vnfained; he hath power by Gods ordinance to restore vs to the state of Grace, and to receiue vs into the bosome of the Church, otherwile not: For his Absolution is not absolute, it is but *ex Hypothesi*. Nay we farther confesse, that we cannot haue the participation of any of these graces and blessings, but by his Ministerie onely; for this is Gods holy ordinance in his Church, whereof we professe and maintaine ours to be a principall member. So that we haue not cast off the sweet yoke of Christian gouernment, nor are we those Libertines they would faine make vs: for whatsoeuer

our Church enioyneth, that will we, and must we do. If the command vs to an Anniuersarie and stationarie confession of our sins to the Priest, we will obey: for we ought to go to him in case of doubt for instruction, and in case of conscience for comfort; and so we do: We are not such enemies to Auricular confession, as they take vs: but it is true, the Cubicular confession which their Priests vse here among vs, we do not allow, nor do I thinke the married Catholikes in *Italy* would euer admit it. If the command vs to adorne our Churches with beautifull Tablets & Apparaments, to decke our Priests with seemly Copes & Vestiments, to grace our Seruice with Musicke of voice, Organs, & other instruments; and to burne Frankincense & other sweet odours in our Temples, (so it be not to driue away ill Spirits and Hobgoblins) all this will we do, as wel and as willingly as they. For all these do stirre vp the spirits and powers of mans soule to a more liuely offering vp of his liuing sacrifice of prayer, praise and thankgiuing to God. These their Church enioyned, and many things more, as in themselves (*Adiaphora*) vpon very good reason, & to a most godly vse, till the abuse by corrupt vsage grew to hurt the Church more, then the vse at first did it good: and therefore may be abolished, as all other constitutions of like nature in that Church may be, and haue beene euen by *Rome* her selfe. As for their praying to Saints, worshipping of Images, and other Idolatries, our Church hath cancelled those Canons: for we Protestants haue not our *Deos maiores, minores, and Medioximos*, our Demi-gods, and gods of a higher straine and larger size, as the Heathens had. Our God is not like *Baal*, that must be wakened with loud crying, nor like the gods of earth vpon earth; that must be sued vnto by mediation. His Court is alwaies where himselfe is, euery where: we need no Postillions to send to him, nor Fauourites to speake for vs. We know not, whether *S. Peter* can heare our Catholicks here in *England* and them in *Italie* all at once; no more than when he was at *Alexandria* he could heare or see them in *Rome*. And of their other punie and paper-Saints, *S. Rocke*, and *S. Stock*, and such like, we doubt much more. Those
filly

filly soules therefore and poore Christians that preferre their suits by such Solliciters, were in poore case, if they could not enter the Presence but by their meanes: but this King of Kings is a searcher of the heart, and finding (that) sincerely affected to him, doth no doubt accept them. This is our charitable construction of them; and let this be their best comfort, till God who hath touched their hearts with the heat of Christian zeale, enlighten them also with vnderstanding.

AS for the Schisme and Rent among our selues, wherewith they ypbraid vs, it is not in principles of Faith, nor their conclusions: it is onely in matter of Church-policie: it is not growne to a Partie, it hath no Head, as theirs haue had when there were three Popes, & so three Heads at once. It is but of such as are fallen from one extreme to another; from the Tyrannie of Papisme, to the Anarchie of Anabaptisme: or to the Laocrasie of *Iohna-Knox* or *Iohn a-Stile*. *A thing which is naturall in the reuolution of Ciuill States, and so likewise of Ecclesiasticall.* But our Church neither alloweth their Opinion, nor suffereth their Practice. They are sequestred and vnder censure, and liable to what the Canons of our Church layeth vpon them, which in matter of faith or obedience to gouernment, ought to bind the conscience of all that are vnder her subiection: and therefore *Maius peccatum habent*. For all Churches Constitutions agreeable to Gods word, are sacred & inuiolable vnder the gouernment where they are established, vntill they be abrogated by the same Authoritie: But Christians in other States are no way bound vnto them: nor we to those of the Roman Church, more then they to ours. Might we but agree in the principles of Faith, and their conclusions, this difference of gouernment might well be permitted, without any rent in Christian Religion, it would onely hinder the Rents of the Popes Checquer. In many of which Principles though they & wee differ much, and wherein both their side & ours haue beene too curious and busie, yet seeing the difference in most of them is rather *De modo essendi* then *de esse rei*,